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THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF
The Bethune Society,
FOR THE
SESSIONS OF 1859-60, 1860-61.

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BETHUNE SOCIETY.

President.

The Rev. A. DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

Dr. N. CHEVERS.

Raja PERTAB CHANDRA SINGH, Bahadur.

Secretary.

Babu KOYAS CHANDRA BOSE.

Treasurer.

Babu HARA MOHAN CHATTERJEA.

The Executive Council.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society *ex-officio*. Also, the Presidents and Secretaries of the different sections, viz. :—

H. WOODROW, Esq.
Babu RAJENDRA NATH MITTRA.
E. B. COWELL, Esq.
Babu GRISH CHANDRA GHOSE.
H. S. SMITH, Esq.
J. REES, Esq.
Dr. BROUGHAM.
Babu NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.
Rev. J. LONG.
Babu KALI KUMAR DAS.
Babu RAMAPERSAD ROY.
Babu HUR CHANDRA DUTT.

Honorary Members.

The Hon'ble Sir BARTLE FRERE.
The Hon'ble Sir JAMES OUTRAM.
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
Rajah RADHAKANTA DEVA, Bahadur.
Rajah KALIKRISHNA, Bahadur.
Babu RAM CHANDRA MITTRA.

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ERRATUM.

Page 68, line 20, for *containing* read *continuing*.

INTRODUCTION.

Hitherto the Bethune Society has only published an occasional Lecture delivered before it, with brief notices of its proceedings in the daily Journals of this metropolis. Since, however, it has now been deemed expedient, for various reasons, to publish a *volume* of its transactions, it seems desirable that the volume should be prefaced with a brief notice of its *origin* and *leading objects*.

In pursuance of a circular issued by Dr. Mouat, Secretary of the Medical College and of the Government Council of Education, a meeting of native gentlemen was held in the Theatre of the Medical College, on Thursday, 11th December, 1851. Dr. Mouat having been called to the chair, the proceedings of the meeting were opened by him. He began by explaining the objects which he proposed in calling together the gentlemen present. He took a brief review of the nature and object of the societies already existing in Calcutta—referring particularly to the Asiatic and the Agricultural Societies; and pointed out the great necessity of devising some means of bringing the educated natives more into personal contact with each other, for purposes less ambitious, but probably not less useful than those of the institutions already named.

He dwelt upon the large amount of good that had been found to result from such associations, when properly conducted, in the Universities and principal cities of England and Scotland; and indicated how much more such means of mental improvement and intellectual recreation were needed in this country, where, from the very constitution of native society and the social customs of the people, even the private relations of individuals and families were necessarily much restricted.

He went on to sketch the plan, simple and concise, which he thought best suited for the end in view; dwelt carefully on the absolute necessity of excluding the subjects of religion and politics from the operations of the Institution; and concluded by proposing to the meeting the establishment of a Society for the objects which he had so clearly propounded. With characteristic generosity he also proposed, for one year, to bear the whole expense of organizing and conducting the Institution.

After a lengthened conversation, in which Babu Debendranath Tagore, Dr. Chuckerbutty, Dr. Sprenger, Rev. Mr. Long and others took a part, it was unanimously resolved, that "A Society be established for the consideration and discussion of questions connected with Literature and Science." In order to perpetuate the name of the Honorable Mr. Bethune, Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, then lately deceased, and to commemorate his great services and boundless liberality in promoting the cause of Native Female Education, and native improvement generally, it was also resolved that the newly formed Institution should be denominated "The Bethune Society."

The following, being the gentlemen who *first* enrolled their names as members of the Bethune Society, ~~are~~ ^{are} entitled to honorable mention in this place :—

J. F. MOUAT, M. D.
 PUNDIT ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR.
 THE REV. J. LONG.
 MAJOR G. T. MARSHALL.
 REV. K. M. BANERJEA.
 DR. SPRENGER.
 DR. CHUCKERBUTTY.
 L. CHAT, ESQ.
 BABU RAMGOPAL GHOSE.
 " RADHANATH SIKDAR.
 " RAMCHANDRA MITTRA.
 " KYLAS CHANDRA BOSE.
 " HURROMOHUN CHATTERJEA.
 " JUGADISNATH ROY.
 " NOBIN CHANDRA MITTRA.
 " GANENDRA MOHAN TAGORE.
 " PEARY MOHAN SIKKAR.
 " DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.
 " PEARY CHAND MITTRA.
 " RUSSICK LAL SEIN.
 " PRASUNNA KUMAR MITTRA.
 " GOPAL CHANDRA DUTT.
 " HUEY CHANDRA DUTT.
 " DUKHINARANJUN MUKERJEA.

Dr. Mouat was then chosen President, and Babu Peary Chand Mittra, Secretary. The President and Secretary were next requested to draw up a code of rules for the future conduct and guidance of the Society.

These rules, as subsequently presented and approved of, were the following :—

I.—All educated persons interested in the objects of the Society are eligible as members.

II.—Candidates for election as Members shall be proposed and seconded at one Meeting, and ballotted for at the succeeding Meeting; a simple majority being sufficient to secure the election of the candidate.

III.—The Society shall hold ordinary Monthly Meetings on the Second Thursday of each month from October to March at 7 P. M., and from April to September at 8 P. M., and an Annual General Meeting in the month of January.

IV.—The business of the ordinary Monthly Meeting shall be conducted in the following order :—

1. Reading of the Proceedings of the last Meeting for Confirmation.
2. Election of Members.
3. General Proceedings.
4. Delivery of Discourses.
5. Remarks on the Discourses by any Member present.

V.—Discourses (written or verbal) in English, Bengali or Urdu, on Literary or Scientific subjects, may be delivered at the Society's Meetings, but none treating of religion or politics shall be admissible.

VI.—The Society shall have a President, a Secretary, a Collector, and a Committee of Papers, composed of three Members, who shall be subject to annual election.

VII.—The written Discourses after they are read shall be the property of the Society, and the Committee of Papers may, if they think fit, cause a selection of them to be printed or published, with the concurrence of the author.

VIII.—The Committee of Papers shall be at liberty to return any paper for the purpose of being printed in any journal, if they see sufficient cause for doing so, upon the application of the author.

IX.—The presence of fifty persons shall be deemed sufficient and constitute a Meeting for the reading of discourses, &c.

X.—The Members of the Society shall pay a subscription of One Rupee half-yearly in advance, to meet the expense of lighting, and of printing the Transactions and Proceedings.

XI.—No Member shall be entitled to receive copies of the Society's Transactions who has not paid up all Subscriptions due by him to the Society.

A circular was addressed to gentlemen in the Mofussil, requesting their aid and co-operation. Several of these very soon replied—highly approving of the formation of the Society and wishing to become members of it. At Dacca also a Society was formed to which was accorded the privilege of calling itself, "The Branch Bethune Society of Dacca."

The President took early occasion of noticing the liberality of the Press towards the Society; and felt assured that they would still kindly render the aid to be sought for. This has proved no ill grounded assurance: for, up to the present time, the Press has, without exception or variation, continued to manifest towards the Society a liberality that challenges the admiration and gratitude of its members.

The minutes of the Society shew that, under the able and zealous Presidency of Dr. Mouat, it rapidly increased in numbers and usefulness. Lectures were delivered at the regular monthly meetings on a great variety of interesting and important subjects; and very often, the delivery of the Lecture was followed by very animated extemporaneous discussion.

At the close of its first year, 1852, the President reported that the Society numbered one hundred and thirty-one members, of whom one hundred and six were natives. It was then also resolved that the office-bearers, or executive staff of the Society should consist of a President, two Vice-presidents, one of whom should be a native, a Committee of papers of three members, a Secretary and a Collector; and that the members of the Society should pay a subscription of one rupee half-yearly, *in advance*, to meet the expense of lighting and printing of the proceedings and transactions.

At intermediate meetings, Lectures were delivered, with various illustrations, pictorial and experimental, on such important scientific subjects, as Chemistry, Geology, the Electric Telegraph, Microscope, Architecture, &c. by Colonel Goodwyn, Dr McClelland, Mr. Woodrow, Mr. Jones and other eminently qualified gentlemen.

At the close of the second year, 1853, the President reported that the Society numbered one hundred and forty, of whom one hundred and nineteen were natives. The meetings had been extremely well attended, and it was believed that much useful and interesting information, and materials for thought and reflection had been scattered abroad, where they were likely to produce some fruit. The experience of the two past years had amply proved that the want of intellectual communion and recreation was strongly felt by the rising generation of educated natives. It was hoped and believed that this craving desire for knowledge and readiness to seek it, would not be allowed to die from inanition, and that the wealthy and influential members of the community, Native and European, would lend their aid to the furtherance of an object which could not be matter of indifference to any one really interested in the welfare and progress of the natives of Bengal. Education, in the existing state of native Society, could only accomplish half its appointed work, and by no means the most important half, so long as the moral training and discipline which were inseparably connected with it in Europe could not be fully applied in India. Hence the great importance of all measures calculated to bring the educated classes into harmonious contact with each other, and to infuse into them a taste for intellectual and moral pursuits.

On the 12th January, Dr. Mouat resigned his office and Hodgson Pratt Esq. C. S. was chosen President of the Society. As Dr. Mouat was soon to embark for England, it was unanimously resolved, that, in consideration of the many obligations which the Society owed to its founder, a subscription be raised among the members for the purpose of procuring a suitable token of respect, to be presented to him before his embarkation. For this purpose a sum of Rs. 729 was actually collected. With this sum a suitable memorial was procured, and presented with an appropriate address.

At the annual meeting in January, 1855, the President reported that during the preceding year (1854) an addition of eighty-eight new members had been made, which confirmed him in the belief that the Society was daily growing in importance and usefulness; and that the object contemplated in its formation, as well as the hopes and expectations entertained of its future prosperity, were in the course of being realized. It was also noted that besides the lectures and discourses at the ordinary monthly meetings Mr. James Hume (one of the Magistrates of Calcutta), had afforded a highly intellectual treat, on two successive occasions, by his reading of the "Merchant of Venice;" and Colonel Goodwyn, by his able and interesting lecture on the "Union of Science, Industry and Arts," with a view to the formation of a School of Industrial Art and Design. The meetings at these and the other lectures were generally crowded. The subjects treated of were debated with considerable ability, and with a liberality and intelligence which reflected no ordinary credit on those who took a share in the discussions.

Mr. Pratt having vacated his office, Colonel Goodwyn was elected President of the Society.

Throughout the year, the business of the Society proceeded much in the usual way. Seventy-seven new members were added; so that at the beginning of 1856, the number amounted to 281. The Society had issued the second No. of its selections, consisting of Dr. Chevers' Lecture on "The Laws of Public Health," and Babu Nobin Kisto Bose's Discourse "On the School of Industry and Art." The Rev. Mr. Bellew, Chaplain, had entertained the members with "Readings from Shakspeare." The Society had been indebted to the Government of Bengal and of the North Western Provinces for Selections of Papers published from the Records of these Governments; to the Agricultural and other Societies for copies of their Reports; and to individuals for different publications. A proposal to increase the annual subscription from 2 to 4 rupees, was made and withdrawn as inexpedient.

Colonel Goodwyn was re-elected President of the Society; but in the month of May, chiefly on account of health, he felt constrained to tender his resignation. Dr. Bedford was then chosen President in his stead; but, within a few months, this excellent and philanthropic man was suddenly removed by death. This sad event was officially communicated to the Society on the 13th November, by Dr. Chevers in an address, teeming with eloquent thought, and pathos eloquently expressed.

At the annual meeting held in January, 1857, Dr. Chevers presided and reviewed the proceedings of the past year. The numerical strength of the members had steadily increased; twenty-three additions having been made to the list. It appeared, however, that many had failed to pay up their subscriptions; so that there was an accumulating balance against them. It was agreed that all members who had failed to pay their subscriptions should be informed by circular, that if their arrears were not paid up in full within two months, their names should be struck off from the list of members. A resolution which had been passed at the previous annual meeting, rendering all new members chargeable with an entrance or admission fee of two rupees, had been found so "extremely distasteful" that it was agreed to rescind it, and enact that every member of the Society should be admitted to its meetings

by a ticket renewed half yearly, upon the payment of six months' subscription in advance. Among the Lecturers for the past year was the celebrated George Thompson; while Dr. Halleur favoured the Society with several Lectures on Physical Science.

Mr. James Hume was elected President of the Society for 1857.

At the annual meeting, in January, 1858, a further accession of forty-one members was reported, of whom sixteen were Europeans and twenty-five natives. The third and fourth No. of the Society's selections had been published during the year. The President had also, on three several occasions, favoured them with readings from Shakspeare.

Mr. Hume was re-elected President. During the year (1858) he favoured the Society with readings from "Marnion" and "The Lady of the Lake;" but, owing to ill health, he was often unable to attend the monthly meetings.

At the annual meeting in January, 1859, Mr. Hume, on account of his able and zealous services, was re-elected President. The outstanding balance of unrealized subscriptions, had now amounted to 1,458; though the sum due from each member was only two rupees per annum. From various causes the attendance of members had of late seriously diminished. This, of course, indicated a great decline in the interest once felt in the proceedings of the Society. The frequent illness and necessary absence of the President had, doubtless, much to do with this painful and unsatisfactory state of things; since the prosperity of an Institution like that of the Bethune Society must always depend greatly on the influence, activity and energy of its President. During his lamented absence, and unfitness for active exertion, great credit is due to the other office-bearers of the Society for their manifold efforts; particularly to Dr. Chevers who had been repeatedly chosen as one of the Vice-Presidents,* and to Babus Ram Chunder Mittra and Hurrymohun Chatterjee, who, from the outset had been annually re-elected as Secretary and Treasurer respectively. But, in spite of every effort, the number that attended meetings continued steadily to dwindle down, and the general interest in the proceedings steadily to abate. The great majority of the members never attended at all, and declined to pay up their small arrears of subscriptions. In April there was no meeting from non-attendance of members; and in June, no lecture. The President had become so unwell that he was constrained suddenly to embark for England.

In these adverse circumstances it almost appeared as if the Society must lapse into total extinction. Even if this had been its fate, it would not have existed in vain. A Society which had succeeded in bringing together, monthly, on a common arena of improved Literature and Science, and for mutual intellectual culture and rational recreation, the very elite of the educated native community, and blending them in friendly union with leading members of the Civil, Military and Medical services of Government, of the Calcutta bar, of the Missionary body, and other non-official classes; a Society which, in the course of a few years, in addition to constant monthly discussions on subjects of varied interest, alike theoretical and practical, could call forth so many valuable and edifying Lectures, as the Minute Book of the Secretary so faithfully exhibits;†—such a Society would have done well and deserved well of all the true friends of India.

* The names of all the other Vice-presidents from the beginning are the following:—

Colonel Goodwyn, Captain W. N. Lees, LL. D., Dr. Bedford, Dr. Chevers, Dr. Chuckerbutty, Rev. J. Long, Rajah Pertab Singh Bahadur; Babus Ram Gopal Ghose, Hurrymohun Spin, and Radhanath Sikdar.

† See list of Lectures in the present volume after the Summary of proceedings of the last two years.

The older members, however, were very loath to allow their minds to be reconciled to the extinction of a Society, which, for years, had so greatly prospered, and had so long promised to become the ornament and glory, the bulwark and defence of all who were confederate in the noble attempt to inaugurate a new and better era. They felt that very much must depend on their securing a President who commanded the respect of Europeans and Natives, and who would throw himself heartily into the arduous work of resuscitating a body which was fast sinking into inanition. In the exigency, it occurred to some of the remaining office-bearers and leading members to apply to Dr. Duff, though for various reasons which it is needless now to specify, he had never joined the Society as a member. In private conference with that gentleman, he at once declared that the state of his health and multifarious duties made him shrink from the onerous but honorable task proposed to him; though his deep interest in native improvement was enough to induce him to encounter temporarily any extra personal exertion for the attainment of a worthy object. There were, however, certain conditions in which alone he could venture to undertake the heavy burden. What these were may best appear from the following extract from the Minutes of the meeting held on the 9th June, 1859 :—

“Present,—Dr. N. Chevers, Vice-President, in the chair.”

“The chairman announced that as there was no Lecture for that evening, the business of the meeting would be devoted to the election of a President, and to the proposal of notices of motions for *modifying certain of the Society's rules*. He proposed that Mr. James Hume having been compelled by severe illness to leave Calcutta without having it in his power to communicate with the Society upon the choice of his successor, it becomes necessary that a President should be elected in his room. Proposed by the chairman and seconded by the Secretary, that the Chair be offered to the Rev. Dr. A. Duff, carried by acclamation.”

“The chairman then gave notice of a motion that, at the next meeting of the Society, he should propose that Rule *three* should be revised and altered, so as to ensure a vacation during the hot weather and the rains.”

“The Chairman also gave notice of a motion that, at next meeting, he should propose that Rule *Five* should be thus altered; “the grand and distinctive object of the Society being to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for Literary and Scientific pursuits, discourses (written or verbal) in English, Bengali or Urdu, may be delivered at the Society's meetings on any subject which may be fairly included within the range of general Literature and Science.”

At the meeting held on the 14th July, the first of these motions was put and carried by a majority. But a good deal of irregular discussion having afterwards unexpectedly arisen on its merits, it was finally conceded, *ex gratia*, that the matter might be reconsidered at next meeting. For that meeting also it was agreed that the other motion of Dr. Chevers should be postponed.

At the monthly meeting held on the 11th August, both these motions were eventually carried, as will be seen from the following extracts from Minute Book :—

“The Rev. Dr. A. Duff, President, in the Chair.”

“Read and confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting.”

“Dr. Chevers then brought forward the following motion, which was seconded by Babu Nobin Kisto Bose.”

“That the meetings of the Society shall hereafter be held on the second Thursday of every month, for six months, from the beginning of November, until the beginning of April; except on special occasions, when gentlemen desirous of reading lectures during the vacation, may be permitted to do so with the consent of the President and officers of the Society.”

An amendment was then proposed by the Rev. Mr. Dall, and seconded by Dr. Evans, simply to the effect, that the Society do now adjourn to meet on the second Thursday of November next.

The nature and object of these motions having been severally explained by the gentlemen who proposed them, and all the members present having been earnestly solicited by the President freely to express their minds on the subject, if they had any objections or suggestions to offer :—

The original motion and the amendment were duly put to the vote ; whereon the amendment was rejected, and the original motion carried.

Dr. Chivers then brought forward a motion that Rule 5th should be altered thus :

“ The grand and distinctive object of the Society being to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, discourses written or verbal, in English, Bengali, or Urdu, may be delivered at the Society's meetings, on any subject which may be fairly included within the range of general Literature and Science.”

By the Mover and the President, it was explained at considerable length, and with great emphasis, that the design of this resolution, was not to effect any change whatever in the organic constitution, or fundamental objects of the Society, as originally formed. The purpose of all who were concerned in its welfare and prosperity, was to maintain these inviolate. However important in themselves, and in proper time and place, the subjects of contemporary politics and controversial theology as debated among the different classes of religionists,—it was felt by all that an institution, like that of the Bethune Society, did not furnish the fitting arena for discussions on the topics which these involve.

But the term “ religion ” was not restricted to what is ordinarily understood as a special revelation from God, or a Divinely revealed and consequently authoritative system of faith and worship, such as, with or without satisfactory evidence, large classes of mankind believe their respective forms of faith and worship to be. It was also constantly applied to what is understood by Natural Religion, or a belief in the being and perfections of God, the Creator of all things, and the Moral Governor of the Universe. This being a subject on which all were professedly agreed, it was never understood in practice, that a proper allusion to it, on any fitting occasion, was prohibited. It was religion in the former sense, about which members differed, and not religion in the latter sense, about which all were substantially agreed, which it was the design of the original law to exclude from discussion by lecturers and speakers in the Bethune Society. But to many, the original law, as hitherto worded, appeared, if strictly interpreted, to forbid allusion even to the being of a God, or to any indications which the works of Creation might exhibit of his wisdom, power, or goodness. Hence it was that the Society, in various influential quarters, came to be stigmatised as a Godless or Atheistic Society ; and many men of high intelligence and tender consciences were, in consequence, positively prevented from joining its ranks. Since therefore, such an interpretation, though seemingly consonant with the wording of the original rule, did not appear to be accordant with the real sentiments and design of its framers, or with the actual practice of the members in times past, it had been felt that, by the retention of it in its primary form, the Society was doing injustice to itself, injuring its good name, and excluding an accession of influential membership. It was to obviate these and such like objections and difficulties, and if possible, ensure the countervailing advantages, that a slight change had now been proposed, not in the real intent and substance, but only in the wording or verbal expression of the original law.

Dr. Chivers' motion having been seconded by Babu Kyles Chandra Bose, was put to the vote, and carried.

With the adoption of these resolutions, the Bethune Society terminated the first period of its existence, and was fairly projected upon its second. The present volume is intended to furnish a glimpse of the general character of its proceedings and designs. To a vital part of these proceedings, viz. the animated discussions which usually followed the delivery of a Lecture or Report, no justice whatever can be done. But, with all its imperfections, it is hoped that this volume will be accepted by the friends of native improvement

as an augury of better things for the future. For the reasons already assigned, the Society had, in a great measure, to be reconstructed; it had to regain a status and position from which it had lamentably declined; it had to re-inspire confidence in the practical utility of its aims and objects; it had to conciliate alienated friends, and, by its proved usefulness, gain an accession of new ones. Now, much of all this has been achieved. All the public meetings have been well attended; and some of them crowded to overflowing. European and Native gentlemen of the highest grades in Society, such as Sir Bartle Frere, Sir James Outram, the Rajah Radhakant Deva, the Rajah Kalikrishna, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta have had their names enrolled among its honorary members, while many distinguished names have been added to the ordinary membership. Gentlemen in the high position of the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Calcutta have not deemed it beneath them to countenance the Society by their presence and benefit it by their public Lectures. The working of the different sections has come fairly into operation, and even now has *begun* to bear good fruit. If the growth and expansion of future years be at all proportional to the development of the last two years of comparative infancy, the Bethune Society may yet acquire an ascendancy among the rapidly enlarging community of educated natives in this land, like that long since enjoyed in their respective countries, by the great Literary and Scientific Societies of Europe. From their own inexperience in such matters, the Native members have, of their own accord, unanimously named European gentlemen for their leading office-bearers. The fact that they have done so, redounds greatly to their credit, as it demonstrates their freedom from petty envies and jealousies, gives the lie to charges of antagonism of race, and proves their hearty honest earnestness in the cause of enlightened individual and national advancement. It is to be hoped, however, that the day is not far distant when all the leading office-bearers will be native gentlemen, distinguished for their literary and scientific attainments, elevation of character, commanding social influence, and disinterested patriotism.

To consolidate and permanize the Society, however, as well as to ensure the successful prosecution of its varied objects, a suitable Hall for public meetings, with several adjoining apartments, must be held as absolutely indispensable. In the absence of a better place, the continued use of the Theatre of the Medical College is justly regarded as a great boon. But admirably adapted as it is to its own specific purpose, it is not at all well adapted for such meetings as those of the Bethune Society; while there is no accommodation at all for Council or Committee meetings, Library, &c. &c. Why should not some wealthy native gentleman at once furnish a lakh or two of rupees, for the erection of a suitable Hall with its appurtenances, and thus rear to himself an enduring monument, while conferring an inestimable benefit on his fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen, down to the latest ages of posterity?

Calcutta, June, 1861.

PART I.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

FOR

THE SESSION OF 1859-60.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THE 10TH NOVEMBER, 1859.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D. President, in the chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted.

H. Scott Smith, Esq.; and Babu Shama Churn Sircar.

Proposed by the Secretary and seconded by Babu Hurromohun Chatterjea.

The following presentations have been received.

Appendixes to General Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces for the Bengal Presidency for 1857-58 vol. 2 from the Director of Public Instruction.

Introduction to a treatise on the philosophy of the mind, founded on the principles of Sanskrit Philosophy, from Babu Grish Chandra Mukerjea.

Education in India, by Babu Kissory Chand Mittra from the Author.

An Introductory Lecture addressed to the students of the Calcutta Medical College, by Charles Archer, M.D., from the Director of Public Instruction.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society for the above mentioned presentations be recorded.

The Secretary now read the following letter dated 25th July, 1859, Pall Mall, London, lately received from Mr. James Hume, the late President of the Society.

SIR,—The illness with which I was attacked in April so entirely prostrated me, that it was quite impossible for me to attend to business of any description up to the time of my departure: I should otherwise have addressed the Society and mentioned my impending visit to England, placing the office I had the honor to hold in its hands. I now do so, but desire to say that my interest in the Society and my desire to be useful to it continue unabated; and should it please God that my health be restored, my services will, on my return to India, be at the command of the Society in any way they can be made available. Requesting that you will be good enough to place this letter before the first general meeting.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HUME.

Proposed by the Secretary and seconded by Babu Kissory Chand Mittra.

“That the cordial thanks of the Society be returned to the late President, Mr. James Hume, for the very kind offer of his valuable services in any way they can be made available in the event of his return to India, and for the warm expression of his unabated interest in the Society's welfare.” Carried by acclamation.

The President having stated that it had been brought to his notice that there were arrears of subscription, amounting to no less a sum than Rs.

1,600 and extending back in many instances to a period of two or three years, suggested to the meeting that some rule should be enacted, by which defaulting members might be induced to pay what they already owed to the Society, and such unseemly defaults be in future prevented.

Mr. Woodrow gave notice of a motion that "any member who is in default of his subscription for a period of three months, which is paid in advance, will be liable to be struck off from the list of members, and that a notice be given to the present defaulting members, warning them, that, in the event of the arrears of their subscriptions not being paid up before the 31st January next, their names will be struck off from the roll of members."

The proposition was seconded by the Rev. J. Long.

The President then delivered an address in which he took a retrospective view of the rise and progress of native Education; the difficulties with which its advocates had, at the outset, to contend; and the slow but sure triumphs which had gradually crowned their efforts. In connection with this subject he made special reference to the inestimable services of the late celebrated Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, whom it was his privilege to know personally, and whose zeal, energy and devotedness, as a Hindu Reformer, he had learnt to appreciate and admire. He also took occasion to dilate, at some length, on the essential requirements and characteristics of a sound education; showed abstractly, on the grounds and principles of mental science, how it necessarily implied a full and harmonious development and regulation of all the powers, affections, and sensibilities, intellectual, emotional and moral; and illustrated, by specific examples from general History and Biography, the evils which accrued to the individual and to Society at large from a disproportionate development of the different sets of faculties and susceptibilities of the human soul, and the consequent mal-adjustment as well as mis-direction of its practical energies.

The President next reviewed, at considerable length, the rise and progress of the numerous Native Societies, which had successively sprung up as the natural offspring of an education which had awakened into activity the dormant intellect, unfolded its latent capacities, liberated it from the crushing thralldom of mere traditional and reasonless authority, and imbued it with a vital power and resistless tendency to shoot out freely, in all directions, into the circumambient atmosphere of truth and reality. However ephemeral some of these might have proved, and however wild or extravagant the views and opinions propounded by some of their members, they were all working, consciously or unconsciously, towards ultimate good of some kind. Any thing was better than stagnation and death. The cyclone or hurricane was preferable to the still, heavy, leaden atmosphere, surcharged with the invisible influences of plague and pestilence.

He next adverted to the past history, present state, and future prospects of the Bethune Society. It owed its origin to the sagacity and philanthropy of Dr. Mouat,—a man, whose eminent services in the cause of Native improvement, he had never seen adequately prized or duly acknowledged. Education had borne its first ripe fruits; the first and still surviving *alumni* of our different Colleges, had now become heads of families, chiefs of departments in offices of State, independent men of business on their own account, or managers of their own ancestral property. Were they to abandon the literary, scientific, or philosophic tastes which they had acquired; and, from the want of suitable incitements, again sink back into a state of mere animal or vegetative existence? To prevent so fatal an issue it was felt that a Society of a higher order ought to be instituted, which might furnish the needful means, appliances, and stimulants, adapted to the higher capacities of more mature and experienced minds. Hence, doubtless, the origin and object of the Bethune Society,—a society, so denominated, to perpetuate the memory

of a man, who, with purse and hand, laboured more strenuously than any other of his rank and station in our day, to raise the natives of this land, intellectually, socially, and morally to a higher and nobler platform, than any heretofore occupied by them in the great amphitheatre of the world.

The bright early promise of success and the causes of subsequent declension were then distinctly pointed out by the President. The records of the Society, which he had carefully looked into, bore unmistakeable evidence that there was no lack of talent in its membership,—a membership including upwards of three hundred of the very *élite* of the educated native community. He had noticed with regret that various schemes for quickening and sustaining the interest of the members in the grand objects of their association had, after trial, proved comparative or total failures. The only one which had hitherto survived, with any degree of definiteness and constancy, was the monthly lecture, which it was intended might always be followed by suggestive remarks, or free and frank discussion, on the part of those present. This branch of the system ought not only to be maintained, but if possible galvanized into fresh vital energy. He was happy to say, that in this important department, he had succeeded in securing the services, as lecturers, of some of the ablest and ripest of our Calcutta *Savants*.

At the monthly meeting in *December* next, a lecture on the now famous “Dr. Livingstone and African Enterprise,” would be delivered by Babu Nobin Kristo Bose, who had already favoured the Society with some admirable dissertations.

In *January*, a lecture “On the principles of historical evidence, and the paramount importance of the study of History to the educated natives of India,” would be delivered by Mr. Cowell, Professor of History in the Presidency College and Principal of the Sanskrit College,—a man every way competent to the task,—a man, too, deservedly esteemed and beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

In *February*, a lecture on “Sir Isaac Newton, his discoveries and his character,” would be delivered by the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, one of the greatest, if not the greatest of our Indian mathematicians; and, alike on the score of scientific and moral attainments, the fittest to grapple with so magnificent a theme.

In *March*, a lecture on “Hannah More and female education,” by Mr. Macleod Wylie, who had already honored the Society with one of the most stirring addresses to which it had ever listened, and whose benevolent heart as well as enlightened understanding pre-eminently qualified him successfully to handle a subject so fraught with domestic and social interest to the teeming millions of India.

And in *April*, he expected, that a lecture on “The rise and progress of the Arts, with special reference to Oriental as well as Western Architecture,” would be delivered by a gentleman who had laboured more than most others to forward the objects of the Society, but whose absence at present in the North-West-Provinces precluded him from being more explicit in the terms of this announcement.

The programme of lectures thus unfolded having gained the marked approbation of the members, the President proceeded at some length to propound another set of measures, which, he earnestly hoped, would meet with similar approbation. Many of the more intelligent members of the Society had often complained to him that they felt as if they had nothing to do; and that, having nothing to do, their interest in its proceedings had gradually declined, and, in some cases, had reached the zero-point.

To obviate this reasonable complaint, and secure some of the principal objects for which the Society had been originally organised, he proposed that, after the model of some of the greatest and oldest Associations of the kind in Europe, the

members should divide themselves into different sections, for the prosecution of special inquiries and the cultivation of particular branches of liberal, useful, and professional study,—that all members should be allowed to choose freely the section or sections to which they would like best to belong, and whose labours, from congeniality of tastes and predilections, they might deem themselves most competent effectually to aid—that each section should be headed by a President, European or Native, assisted by two Secretaries, one of whom ought to be a native gentleman—that the President and Secretary of the Society, with a view to harmony and uniformity of operation, should be *ex-officio* members of all the sections—that every member of a section ought to be encouraged and expected to contribute his mite, were it but a single item of statistical intelligence, to the general stock of information, accumulating in the hands of the Secretaries—that the information thus collected, as the conjoint result of the labours of all the members, should, in due time, be classified, arranged and condensed into an *annual* Report, to be presented at a General meeting, with attendant documents and epistolary communications for the benefit of all,—and, finally, that a special meeting, for such end, might be held successively, during each month of the Session, for the separate reception and consideration of each of the six reports, intermediately between the ordinary statutory meetings of the Society.

After explaining considerably in detail the manifold advantages to be expected from such an arrangement; the grounds, of a general and special kind, which suggested to his own mind the selection of departments, with some of the distinctive ends to be pursued by the different sections, and the possible modes of successfully pursuing them;—he formally proposed for acceptance the following scheme.

1st.—A section on “General Education;” which, if sanctioned, Mr. Woodrow was willing to head.

2nd. A section on “Literature and Philosophy,” which Professor Cowell was willing to head.

3rd.—A section on “Science and Art,” which Mr. Smith, Professor of Natural Science in the Engineering College and Registrar of the University of Calcutta, was willing to head.

4th.—A section on “Medical and Sanitary improvement,” which Dr. Chevers, the distinguished Secretary of the Director General, Government Medical Department, was willing to head.

5th.—A section on “Sociology,”—recently elevated to the rank of a Science and replete with practical benefits to man,—which the Rev. J. Long was willing to head.

6th.—A section on “Native Female improvement;” inclusive of all that tends to improve and elevate the Female mind and character, which, from the very peculiar and delicate inquiries it involved, a Native gentleman of the highest qualification, Babu Ramapersad Roy, was willing to head.

The scheme, thus propounded with much fulness by the President, having met with instantaneous and cordial approval, he next went on to state that all the members ought forthwith and without any delay, to intimate to the Secretary their choice of a section or sections; so that, at next meeting, it might be possible to announce the complete organization of all the sections, which thereafter, in generous rivalry, might proceed to work with all the freshness of new zeal, the determination of indomitable perseverance, and the fire of all-conquering energy. If they did so, they would gain many noble ends. They would no longer be passive recipients, but active cultivators of useful knowledge. Theirs would no longer be thought-imitating or thought-repeating minds, but thought-originating, thought-producing minds. Their opinions or beliefs would no longer be received merely on authority, or simply because they had immemorial tradition in their favour. They would be

saved from confounding due reverence for antiquity with a slavish devotion to antiquated barbarisms ; or a true liberty of thought and independence of mind with the delirium of an unballasted judgment and the fanaticism of wild and reckless speculation. As independent thinkers they would not, on the one hand, unhesitatingly embrace any doctrines or sentiments, merely because they were received and accredited by others before them ; neither, on the other hand, would they uninquiringly reject any doctrines or sentiments, simply because they happened to be ancient, or foreign, or reputed to be wholly new. No. As original and independent thinkers of the genuine Baconian stamp, they would intelligently resolve to admit first principles and the indisputable validity of the facts of consciousness. With such an axiomatic basis, common to them and all mankind, they would proceed to examine calmly and diligently for themselves ; ponder the evidence, alike of observation and experiment ; weigh all testimony, written and oral ; analyse and test all processes of reasoning ; strive to detect and expose latent and insidious fallacies. Then, as the result of patient, assiduous and well-conducted enquiry, they would be prepared, reflectively, and with a clear conscience, to reject or embrace doctrines and facts, as the case might be ;—if properly substantiated or sufficiently proved, heroically to embrace them, were the whole world to rise up in violent antagonism ;—if not properly substantiated or sufficiently proved, as heroically to reject them, whatever might be the amount of mere traditional authority in their favor. Let the members of the different sections only pursue such a sober, wise, and judicious course as this, in all their enquiries and investigations, and the aggregate result could not fail to redound to their own individual credit—to the honor of the Society, and the unspeakable benefit of their native land. Scorning the vulgar arts of senseless ridicule, sardonic sarcasm, cynical misrepresentation, low-minded sophistry, and heartless abuse, they would then produce materials for an *annual* volume of Transactions, abounding with so much of what was substantial, or even original and new, that its appearance might be hailed as a valuable accession to the stores of literature, science and art, by all the learned Societies in the world. And then, too, might the Bethune Society, under that or any other name, attain to its true attitude among native institutions, and exhibit, with respect to them, the same relative position that is now so grandly occupied by the Institute of Paris, or the Royal Society of London, among the literary and scientific associations of France and Great Britain.

The President, having brought the expository portion of his address to a close, and having found all his proposals fully and cheerfully responded to, concluded with an earnest appeal to the reason and conscience of all present. He rapidly glanced at the past condition of humanity throughout the world : shewed how, amid alternate sunshine and storm, ceaseless ebbs and flowings, never-ending progressions and retrogressions, there might be said to be signs and symptoms of progress, or manifest tendencies towards progress, on the whole. But, even were it otherwise ; were things everywhere getting worse instead of better ; were the hand on the dial of human destiny, for a time, going backward instead of forward ; were the hideous vices, depravities and crimes, which now degrade and brutalize whole tribes and nations to become, for a season, more hideous still ;—all this would not for a moment shake his own faith in the ultimate regeneration of the race of man. For this confidence he had vastly stronger reasons than any which he could there well unfold. But it was the delight of his own heart to ruminate upon them, and, in them, to see the prolific seeds of promise for a bright and glorious future. Then, after expatiating, with considerable amplification, on the magnificence of the changes, which, through adequate agencies and instrumentalities, and under the over-ruling providence of a gracious God, he firmly expected to be one day consummated throughout the earth, -- Dr. Duff wound

up by saying, that, to be privileged to contribute, were it but a single drop to the confluence of the many streams which would swell and spread out into such an universal ocean of peace and harmony, joy and blessedness, were an honor worth living for; and that, to that sublime honor, all the members of the Society might, by a course of earnest, resolute, wise, self-denying, patriotic action, hopefully aspire.

From the lateness of the hour at the conclusion of the President's address, it was resolved that the motions, of which notice had been given, should be postponed till next meeting.

RAM CHANDRA MITTRA,
Secretary, Bethune Society.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THE 8TH DECEMBER, 1859.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following presentation has been received :—

Second Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club from the Secretary.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society for the above mentioned presentation be recorded.

The President then suggested that the Minutes, and other routine business which concerned members only, should be postponed till after the delivery of the Lecture, in which visitors as well as members were equally interested. The suggestion was agreed to.

Before calling on the Lecturer, there was one subject to which the President wished to direct the attention of all present. It was with very great satisfaction he had to notify that scores of members had cordially responded to the call made upon them, in connection with the scheme of Sections, which he had ventured to propose. A copy of the proceedings of the last Meeting had been forwarded to each member, with a note requesting to know to which section or sections he might wish to belong. To this requisition there had been a hearty response, to such an extent that there were now sufficient materials for commencing the actual work of *all* the Sections. The returns had been carefully classified under their several departments. Some were evidently more popular than others, and he was rather pleased to find that the most popular of all was that which embraced the all-important subject of general Education; but *all* had enough members to set their distinctive machinery in motion. Here he begged emphatically to state that the object of the Sections would be not to indulge in mere speculations or theories, or to accumulate piles of learned and useless lumber, but to investigate the subjects proper to each department in earnest practical ways, and for the promotion of objects of manifest and acknowledged practical utility. Already nearly all the Presidents and Secretaries of Sections had held a preliminary meeting; had, to prevent any collision, fixed the week days on which they should hold their sittings; and had come to a general understanding as to their respective spheres and modes of action. He (the President) could testify, and he did so with unbounded pleasure, that nothing could exceed the harmony and earnest purpose of all present. There was a gleam of joyousness in every countenance, at the thought that they were now to enter a new career of useful research and practical improvement. This he hailed as a token of good for the future; and seemed to hold out a fair prospect of ultimate results which would tend to elevate the educated of this land to a position as

conspicuous in the eyes of the civilized world as it would be useful and honorable to the people of India.

The President then called on Babu Nobin Kristo Rose—a gentleman who had on previous occasions edified the Society by his able addresses—to deliver his Lecture on “Dr. Livingstone and African Enterprise.”

The Lecturer gave a rapid but vivid sketch of the early days of Livingstone, who was a Scotchman of humble parentage; and of his amazing struggles to educate himself under a varied pressure of difficulties. He then glanced at the earlier African discoveries of Mungo Park, and his successors. Commencing with Livingstone's entry into Africa by the Cape of Good Hope, he followed him in his wonderful journeyings as he penetrated into hitherto totally unknown regions. The graphic details furnished by the Lecturer in tracing the progress of the enterprising traveller, as he penetrated to the northward, and crossed Central Africa from West to East, were of a nature, which, it is obvious, do not admit of abridgment. It is sufficient to say that the summary was one, which was ably and successfully executed. His concluding appeal* to his own countrymen to awaken from the lethargy of the past, and rise up to emulate the spirit, energy and self-denying enterprise of Livingstone was generally felt to be seasonable, masterly, and effective.

At the close of the Lecture, which was throughout listened to with marked attention, though it occupied upwards of an hour and a half in delivery, the President, stated that, according to the usage of the Society, it was now competent to any member to express his views on the subject of the Lecture.

An animated discussion then ensued, respecting certain questions raised by the Lecturer in connection with the attempts to civilize barbarous tribes, in which Babus Kali Kumar Das and Grish Chandra Ghose Mr. Dall, and Professors Banerjee and Cowell, took a part; all, however, heartily approving of the Lecture as a whole, and extolling the ability of its author.

The President then wound up with a brief *resumé* of what had transpired—balancing the different statements and counter-statements—pointing out such things as might be considered irrelevant—urging the lessons to be derived from what had occurred for future guidance—warmly commending the frank, open, generous spirit which had pervaded the whole discussion—and adding his mite of eulogy as regarded the ability of the Lecturer and the generally useful strain of his Lecture.

The majority of the visitors having then withdrawn, the President put the names of the gentlemen proposed at the last Meeting to the vote, when they were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted:—

Babu Ramlohl Mukerjee, B. A.

Babu Loll Gopaul Dutt, B. A.

Babu Purnochandra Mukerjee.

Proposed by the Secretary and seconded by Babu Kali Kumar Das.

Mr. W. W. P. Duff.

Proposed by Mr. H. Woodrow, and seconded by the Secretary.

The President then submitted the following motion, proposed at the last Meeting by Mr. Woodrow, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Long.

“Any member who for a period of 3 months, is in default of his subscription which is payable in advance, will be liable to be struck off from the list of members, and that a notice be given to the present defaulting members warning them that in the event of the arrears of their subscription not being paid up before the 31st January next, their names will be struck off from the Roll of the members.”

* This appeal will be found in Part II. of this volume.

The proposition being put to the vote was unanimously carried.

Next, the following motion originally proposed by the Rev. Mr. Dall was put to the Meeting.

That Rule 7th be thus amended.

"The written discourses, after they are read, shall, *with the consent of the writer*, be the property of the Society; and the Committee of papers may, if they think fit, cause the selection of them to be printed or published, with the concurrence of the author."

This motion also was duly carried.

After a few words from the President congratulating all on the spirit of harmony and good will, which had prevailed throughout; and noting with much satisfaction the greatly improved attendance of members, and especially of old members;—the meeting broke up, a little past 10 o'clock, all being comforted and encouraged by the proceedings of the evening.

RAM CHANDRA MITTRA,

Secretary, Bethune Society.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THE 12TH JANUARY, 1860.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The members proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted.

Rev. S. Hasellwood, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Professor Cowell, M. A.

Pundit Ram Comul Turkolunker, proposed by Babu Grish Chandra Ghose, and seconded by the Secretary.

Babu Debendra Narain Bose, B. A., & B. L., proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Moulavi Abdul Lutiff, Esq.

Sub-Assistant Surgeon Khettra Chandra Ghose, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Babu Horo Mohun Chatterjea.

Babu Horo Kali Mukerjea, proposed by Babu Kali Kumar Das, and seconded by the Secretary.

Sub-Assistant Surgeon Kalla Chand Dey, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Babu Gopaul Chandra Banerjea.

The following presentation has been received:

"Scholarship and Honor examinations for 1858-59;" from the Director of Public Instruction.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Society be recorded for the above-mentioned presentation.

The President then stated, that there were two points to which he wished, at the outset, to advert.

1st. From the great difficulty in making the necessary discrimination, owing to the possible mistakes or mis-reports of the collecting Sircar,—a difficulty, which all who had to do with the periodical collection of very small sums, from individuals, scattered over so large a community, had often experienced—it was resolved by the excellent Treasurer, whose laborious services were altogether gratuitous, to send the circular respecting arrears of subscription *indiscriminately to all*; in the assurance, that members, generally, would put the most favourable construction on the act, by recognising it simply as one of practical necessity. He was happy to report, that this, for the most part, had been the case. In a few instances, however, which had

come to his knowledge, the act had, from some oversight or inadvertence to its real intent and purpose, been somewhat misunderstood. It was conceived to imply a censure, where no censure was ever pronounced or deserved. This he (the President) deeply regretted. He could assure his Native friends who felt aggrieved at the supposed imputation of being slow or backward in the payment of what might be due as their subscription, that no offence was ever intended by the worthy Treasurer. He knew him to be a man morally incapable of intending any thing of the kind. His grand object had been all along to conciliate all, and gain the good will of all. And it was his very reluctance to appear to do any thing offensive, which often kept him back from pressing too hard, even in quarters where signs of reluctance had been manifested. It was only as an act of duty towards the Society which he so faithfully served, and whose unanimous decision he felt himself called upon impartially to carry out, that he adopted the course which had been pursued. And it was a golden rule of all sound morals, that where no offence was intended, no offence ought ever to be taken. He, therefore, earnestly trusted that his Native friends, whom he respected and honored for the very sensitiveness they had exhibited on the occasion, would, in the generous spirit of true charity, accept of this explanation as sufficient, and withdraw their reclaiming notes. He was old enough to remember the time when the imputation of being unready to respond to the claims of a lawful creditor, would call forth no such prompt remonstrances. The Editor of the *Samachar Darpan*, the first *Bengali* paper ever published, was wont, long ago, to come out, ever and anon, with a violent philippic or tirade against the Calcutta Babus for their habitual evasions of his demands for their subscription. But even his tirades often failed in shaming them into the performance of their duty. These, however, were the days of *Old Bengal*. They had now to do with *Young Bengal*. And whatever might be the taunts of its ill-wishers, with regard to any real or supposed vagaries or short-comings, he was happy to find that the taunt about reluctance to pay lawful debts was no longer applicable to it. On this subject there was now a sensitiveness which would resent the very imputation of any such reluctance.

This was an indication of a higher moral tone than had formerly prevailed, which might fairly be attributed to the improved education now so generally imparted. So far, therefore, from blaming the gentlemen for the keen sensibility they had manifested on the subject, there was reason rather for congratulating them upon it, and for congratulating the Bethune Society and its Secretary on their having, though unintentionally, been the instrumental cause in bringing to light so noble and redeeming a feature of high-toned moral character.

In consideration, however, of the misapprehensions which had arisen, and the delays consequent on these misapprehensions, he (the President) suggested the expediency of extending the time for finally winding up the accounts of really or supposedly defaulting Members, for one month beyond the period fixed on in the original resolution.

Babu *Nobinkisto Bose* then formally moved, and Mr. *C. H. A. Dall* seconded the motion, that this suggestion of the President be at once adopted.

The adoption of it being unanimously carried, the President next adverted to the progress already made by the different Sections. All the six had already held one Meeting; and one or two of them, more than one. They all had adopted a definite and practical course of action. In some of them especially the zeal and energy displayed were such as to hold out the promise of large and beneficial results. He himself was almost astonished at the promptitude and decision which had already been exhibited. At that early stage he felt it would be better not to go into minute details. These he

would reserve for another fitting occasion. But meanwhile, he could not say less, than that he did not know which to admire most, the experienced sagacity of the Presidents in suggesting proper topics of enquiry connected with their several departments, or the ready earnestness with which the Secretaries and many of the Members resolved to take up their suggestions, and prosecute them to a practical issue. Let them only persevere as they had begun and the ultimate results would far exceed the anticipations of the most sanguine; while they would utterly belie the prognostications of the doubters, who could not believe it possible that educated Hindus would forsake the pleasurable regions of airy and profitless speculation, for the less exhilarating, but more productive domains of the practical, the profitable and the useful. More he was prevented by prudential considerations from disclosing at present; and less he could not refrain from saying in justice to his very able and zealous colleagues and co-adjutors in the great work of advancing Native improvements in connection with the Bethune Society.

Thereafter Professor Cowell was called on to deliver his lecture on "the Principles of Historic evidence, and the paramount importance of the study of authentic History to the educated Natives of India."

The lecture was listened to, throughout, with earnest and profound attention. But from its closely connected argumentative nature—the argument, at the same time admirably illustrated and supported by appropriate examples—no mere analysis could do anything like justice to it. It was evidently felt by all present to be eminently suitable, seasonable and suggestive.

At the close it was proposed by Babu Kali Kumar Dass, and seconded by Babu Grish Chundra Ghose, and carried by acclamation, that the thanks of the meeting should be given to the learned Lecturer.

In discharging this office, the President declared that if the Bethune Society had been the means of producing nothing else this season than the lecture then delivered, it was worth while existing for that end. After furnishing some additional reasons for the study and application of the principles of Historic evidence in this country, he concluded by expressing a hope that the lecture would be published, and that, when published, it might constitute a part of the prescribed course of study for graduates of the University of Calcutta.

RAMCHANDRA MITTRA,
Secretary to the Bethune Society.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY, HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THURSDAY, THE 9TH
FEBRUARY, 1860.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Members proposed at the last Meeting were unanimously elected.

The names of the following candidates for election were then submitted.

Babu Jugudchandra Roy Chowdhry, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Babu Ramgopaul Ghose.

D. Canduff, Esq., proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Professor Cowell, M. A.

Babu Taraprasad Chatterjea, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Babu Khettra Mohun Chatterjea.

Babu Jodo Nath Ghose, proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Babu Rajendra Mittra.

The following presentations have been received :—

Comments on the Code of Civil Procedure, by Ramaprasad Roy, from the author.

Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Part I., Vol. XI., from the Agricultural Society.

Vayastha Darpana.—A Digest of the Hindu Law, by Shama Charn Sircar, Vol. I., from the author.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Society for the above-mentioned presentations be recorded.

The President then stated, that, as there was very little of routine or other business before them that evening, and none except what specially concerned Members, and might, therefore, be postponed to the close of the proceedings, he would now call on his revered friend, the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, to deliver his intended lecture on “Sir Isaac Newton, his Discoveries and Character.” Though the hall was crowded, perhaps inconveniently crowded, with strangers, as well as Members, eagerly anxious to hear the lecture, he was sure it would be listened to at once from respect to the lecturer and an intelligent interest in its subject.

Archdeacon Pratt then delivered his Lecture; which occupied about an hour and a half, was listened to with a deep and unbroken attention, and evidently produced a profound impression.*

When the lecturer sat down, after a short pause, Dr. Eatwell, Principal of the Medical College and Member of the Society, rose, and in a few pointed sentences, proposed that the warmest thanks of the Society should be accorded to the Venerable Archdeacon for his truly admirable lecture.

This proposition was seconded by Babu Grish Chandra Ghose, who also spoke in terms of highest eulogy of the lecture.

The President then rose and remarked, that after the statements which fell from the mover and seconder of the motion, and the deep impression so manifestly produced on the audience, he was sure he did not need to put it in the usual form to the vote.

This announcement was received with an instantaneous burst of hearty acclamation, which must have conveyed to the lecturer more emphatically than words, the sense which the Meeting entertained of his valuable services.

The President then stated that, after the cordial appreciation of the lecture, so unanimously manifested, his words need not be many. Seldom, if ever, had a mixed audience in Calcutta been privileged to listen to such a lecture on such a subject. As the lecturer moved along, over some of the profoundest intricacies of science, it must have been patent to all, in any way conversant with the subject, that he moved with the confidence and consummate skill of a master—with something like the ease and assurance of an imperial conqueror over a domain which he had made entirely his own.

It must have been clear to all that he handled one of the most difficult of subjects after the style and fashion of a Hercules, with the utmost facility, wielding the tremendous club which ordinary men could scarcely move. Long might he be spared to prepare and deliver such lectures. And often might the Bethune Society be privileged to listen to them.

The President then briefly adverted to the vigor and energy with which the President, Secretaries and leading Members of the different sections were prosecuting their important enquiries. To these in due time it would be his duty and privilege to refer more specifically, though he cherished a sanguine

* The Lecture itself being published *in extenso* in Part II. of this volume, an analysis of it is omitted here.

hope that the actual results of their labours would prove the best testimony to their industry and the noblest monument of their success.

He next adverted to some facts in the past history of education in this land, which tended to illustrate the real progress which had been already made and which fairly held out an auspicious promise of still greater and more rapid progress in the time to come. He also referred, for encouragement, to the slow and laborious progress of improved science and art in other lands, as compared with their ultimate accelerated speed and glorious triumphs; clearly indicating that somewhat similar might be expected to be the sequences of events in India. In this part of India, after a long series of painful struggles, of progressions and retrogressions, the preliminary difficulties had been fairly conquered, and the foundations securely laid. It, therefore, remained for them, with steadfast and resolute purpose, to rear a superstructure worthy of the great name of India in past ages, and of the still greater name which, through the favour of a gracious Providence, might yet be in store for it. He (the President) then concluded with a warm exhortation to continued diligence and perseverance,—an exhortation which was as warmly responded to by all present.

After the disposal of some purely business matters, the Meeting closed with quickened feelings of unusual satisfaction and delight.

RAMCHANDRA MITTRA,

Secy., Bethune Society.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY, HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THURSDAY, THE 15TH
MARCH, 1860.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D. LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

After the minutes were read and approved of, the President rose to express his deep sorrow and regret at the cause of the absence of their Honorary Secretary, Babu Ram Chandra Mittra. For some time past he had been suffering from various ailments which had been superinduced by hard and unceasing labour. At length, he was constrained to ask for and obtain six months' leave of absence from his professional office in the Presidency College. He (the President) could not allow the occasion to pass without expressing, however feebly and inadequately, his own sense of the Babu's great merits and important services to that Society, as its Honorary Secretary. Persons ignorant of its duties might reckon the office of Secretary a mere sinecure. He had now from his position as President, good reason to know the contrary. It was an office which made heavy demands on the time, attention and patience of the Secretary; and involved duties the right discharge of which, required special tact and aptitude. His friend, Babu Ramchandra, whom he had known for nearly thirty years, was possessed of the needful qualifications in a high degree. Distinguished by superior talent and scholarship, he endeared himself to all by his bland and amiable manners. Gentle and unaffected in his address, he was yet remarkable for his keen discernment of character, and unfailing stock of masculine good sense and good feeling. When differences of opinion arose, and explanations had to be given, he was the man fitted for the task. He proved himself pre-eminently a peacemaker. To the promotion of the best interests of the Society he was devoted in no ordinary degree. When others had forsaken, or had threatened to forsake it, he clung to it with more resolute tenacity. In expressing, therefore, their sympathy with him in his affliction, he (the

President) proposed that they should record their strong sense of the valuable, untiring, and indefatigable services he had rendered to the Society.

The proposal was carried by acclamation.

The President then announced that pending the absence of Babu Rani Chandra, a friend and relative of his, and a long tried and faithful member of the Society, Babu Koylas Chandra Bose had agreed to act as Secretary. The announcement was received with approbation.

The Members proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The names of the following candidates for election were then submitted.

Babu Brojonath Mullick and Pershad Das Mullick, of Burrabazar, proposed by Moulavi Abdul Luttf and seconded by Babu Khettra Mohan Chatterjea.

S. D. Seymour Esquire, of the *Hurkaru* office, proposed by the Acting Secretary and seconded by Babu Hurromohun Chatterjea.

Babu Srinath Ghose, Assistant to the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division, proposed by the Acting Secretary and seconded by Babu Kali Kumar Das.

Babu Hurrish Chandra Mukerjea, of Bhowanipore, and Khettra Persad Mukerjea, of Ooterparah, proposed by Babu Grish Chandra Ghose and seconded by the Acting Secretary.

The President then expressed the satisfaction which he felt at seeing so many of the old and tried members and friends of the Society rallying round it. It was a sign that the Society was striking its roots deep into the soil of the educated native mind, and would in time bear noble fruit. He was also delighted to find that, since the Society had commenced so vigorously to work by sections, a new interest was felt in its proceedings by all—whether European or Native—who had the true interest of India and its people really at heart. In proof of this, he alluded to the presence of some distinguished visitors that evening, such as Sir Bartle Frere, who had done so much for Scind, and had left behind him a name endeared to the whole native community; Colonel Baird Smith; Rajah Kali Krishna, and others. And in connection with this subject, he expressed deep regret that Sir James Outram,—who had, through his long career, been not less distinguished for his frank and conciliatory bearing towards natives than for his skilful generalship and heroic bravery as the leader of armies, was prevented from being present by sudden indisposition; as were also Sir Robert Napier, and the Right Honourable Mr. Wilson, by the pressure of other engagements. But without any further preliminary remarks, he would call on his respected friend, Mr. Wylie, to favour them with his intended lecture on “Hannah More and Female Education.”

Mr. Wylie, at the outset of his lecture, explained that it was not his purpose to discuss the general subject of Female Education, or to propound any new scheme for carrying it out. What was really wanted was a willingness and an earnestness in the cause of female enlightenment; for whenever men came to be not only willing but decidedly in earnest about the attainment of any object, they would soon fall on proper ways and methods of securing it. But if men were unwilling or only half-hearted in any cause, no mere scheme of machinery for carrying it out, however judicious or wise, would be found of any practical avail. His grand object, therefore, was from such an illustrious and successful example as that of Hannah More, to extract a fresh stimulus for the prosecution of female improvement in this land.

The Lecturer, after briefly adverting to the influence exerted on British society by females of cultivated minds, in conspicuous positions, such as Queen Elizabeth, the wife of Colonel Hutchinson, Lady Russel, and others; and after pointing out how the outburst of light and intelligence connected with the Reformation of the 16th century in Europe, led to the advocacy and

establishment of the rights and privileges of women, came to the more immediate subject of his lecture, "Hannah More." He then sketched her early biography, and shewed that, born in humble circumstances, she had no claim to recommend her but her own great merit. Having hired a cottage, she began to write books, which soon arrested universal attention, and earned for her the highest reputation as an author. Having relinquished the follies and frivolities of the world and having become decidedly religious, her grand object was to expose the vices, the evil habits and injurious usages which prevailed all around, and corroded as a canker at the very heart of society. Having thus assumed the attitude of a moral censor and reformer of manners, she had to bear the penalty of all who are in advance of their age in the career of improvement. Accordingly, she was beset with the carplings of envy and low-minded jealousy, with the coldness of neglect or the frown of contempt, with the ribald jests of vulgar levity, or the cruel inventions of malignant scorn. Nevertheless, she neither halted nor hesitated in the course she had marked out for herself. Having the testimony of her own conscience and a sense of the approbation of her God, she resolutely persevered in the path of well doing. Towards her, the minds of the truly great and good were drawn by ties of common sympathy. Wilberforce and other philanthropists became her intimate friends, and through them she found ready access to the highest and noblest society in the land, the wives and daughters of peers of the realm were glad to reckon her in the number of the associates. Nor did she restrict herself to well-doing through the channel of authorship. The neighbourhood in which she dwelt abounded with the ignorant and the vicious. Of its sad conditions the Lecturer, with the fearlessness of truthful fidelity, gave an appalling picture. Encouraged by the munificence of Wilberforce, Hannah More established and superintended a circle of schools for the poor and the destitute, which were wrought with an energy that resulted in glorious fruits. As a practical philanthropist she was worthy of being held up to the admiration and imitation of posterity. Nor had her example been lost, as the Lecturer amply proved by reference to the subsequent labours of Mrs. Fry, Mrs. Stow, Miss Nightingale, Miss Marsh and many others.

The Lecturer then endeavoured to apply the whole subject by way of stimulus and encouragement to the educated natives of India, with reference to the education of their females, and the influential position for good which their females, when properly educated, ought to possess. It shewed that rigid seclusion was incompatible with sound education, or with a just equality of natural rights and privileges. He shewed how one sex could *not* be free in the highest and noblest sense while the other was actually immured and virtually enslaved. Admitting as he did, that in the former history of India, there were remarkable examples of female determination and female courage; admitting also with real joy, that the native female mind, whenever fairly tested, evinced an undoubted capacity and aptitude for mental, moral, and social improvements; he fervently appealed to the intelligent and educated native gentlemen to arise and resolve, as true reformers, to do justice to the women of India—to release them from the servitude which seclusion, ignorance and superstition must ever entail, and thus vindicate their own title to the respect of the wise and the good throughout the whole civilized world.

The concluding appeal of the learned Lecturer drew forth an enthusiastic burst of applause.

Babu Ramapersad Roy then rose and said, that, while, in some of his minor positions he might be allowed somewhat to differ in judgment from the Lecturer, he could not but regard the lecture, as a whole, as an admirable and instructive one, for which they were greatly indebted. He had, therefore, much pleasure in proposing that the thanks of the Society be given to him from the Chair.

The motion was seconded by Babu Hurromohun Chatterjee.

The motion being carried at once by acclamation, the President stated that nothing remained for him except to express his delight at the hearty response which had been accorded to the stirring and eloquent lecture to which they had listened. The reservation of his excellent friend, the mover of the Resolution, with regard to certain points was, in his position, very natural, and tended in no way to militate against his consistency in moving a vote of thanks, or to detract from the intrinsic merits, whether special or general, of the Lecture. When any gentleman, occupying an important office and wholly unconnected with their Society, bestowed a portion of his valuable time and high talent in preparing a Lecture of superior excellence on a subject of practical utility, the very least thing they would do, would be to manifest their gratitude for the favour conferred; yea, even if there were greater differences of judgment with respect to any particular features of a lecture than any that now prevailed, he still felt that it would be their duty thankfully to recognize the kindness of the Lecturer in his earnest endeavour to benefit them, and he trusted the day would never come when, to save themselves from the splenetic effusions of the cynic or the scorner, they would abandon the time-honored custom of rendering thanks to whom thanks might be due. Having now, therefore, done what he believed to be a simple duty in expressing their cordial thanks for the seasonable, able, and very suggestive Lecture with which they had been favoured, he would call on any of the members, who felt so disposed, to express their own views on the subject-matter of the Lecture, viz. Female Education—a subject which so intensely concerned the vital welfare of the native community. And here he begged to remark that while members alone could claim a right to speak, he was sure he expressed the mind of all present when he said that they would be happy if any of their honored visitors favoured them with any remarks. Amongst these he observed one who, in his earlier days, was noted for his literary labours and habits of active usefulness—the Rajah Kali Krishna. He was sure that if the Rajah favoured them with any expression of his sentiments, whether in English or Bengali—he would be listened to with the respect due alike to his high rank and high character.

On this, the Rajah rose and delivered a short address in Bengali, of which the following is the substance, rendered into English.

“Mr. President and Gentlemen.

“The lecture on ‘Hindu Female Education’ just delivered by Mr. Wylic, is very interesting and remarkable. Before uttering a few sentences on the above subject, through the medium of my own language, I cannot refrain from conveying to him my best congratulations. Should there be any impropriety in my thus speaking, I hope to be excused.

“The all-merciful Providence has made the human race superior to all other creatures by adorning them with the inestimable gems of reason and memory. That the women are in this respect peculiarly blessed, is elucidated in our *Shastras* and fully expressed in the following *Shloka*;

“‘Ushmá bétti yut Shastrum, yutta bétti Vrihaspati:

“‘Swabhábadeva yut Shastrum, stri budhone sumpratish thé tum.’”

Interpretation.

“‘The *Shastras* that are known to Shukracharjya and those to Vrihasputti naturally exist in the genius of women.’”

“Moreover in days of yore, Damyanti and others of her sex highly distinguished themselves in the different branches of the *Shastras*. But unfortunately as the excellent system of educating females has now been almost done away with, none of them can consequently acquire similar literary fame. That they, if properly educated, will never be inferior to the other sex, is not contrary to reasonable probability. The sun of their prosperity, having now

arisen and darted forth his radiant beams in the shape of a 'Female School' established by the Hon'ble Mr. Bethune, is day by day dispelling the obscurity of their ignorance. Though that noble-minded gentleman has now paid nature's debt, yet this brilliant monument of his philanthropy and love of learning, keeps him ever fresh in the minds of all; for great men are said to be immortal. That Institution being now fostered by the munificence of the Supreme Government, the natives have from it already derived considerable benefit. Being appointed as one of its Managers, I am aware that the girls there receive proper instruction.

"I am happy to state that another Female School has lately been established by the Rev. Dr. Duff. Having been present in its annual examination and distribution of prizes, I felt myself exceedingly delighted with the proficiency of the girls in their studies. Instead of detaining you any longer, gentlemen, I briefly conclude by saying, that should the rich and influential among the natives exert themselves in such noble undertakings, they will command the esteem and regard of all."

The applause called forth by the Rajah's remarks having subsided, the Rev. Mr. Dall arose and asked one or two questions relative to the alleged unwillingness of native families of wealth and rank to receive Christian ladies into their *Zennas* with a view to the instruction of their inmates &c. &c.

This again called up Babu Ramapersad Roy, who emphatically denied the truth of any such allegations and referred to the case of the Vice-President of the Bethune Society, the Rajah Pertaub Singh, then present, as well as others in proof of its baselessness in point of fact. He admitted that things were still very far behind; but that compared with thirty, or even ten years ago, very great progress of a general kind had been made in the way of softening hostile prejudices, and insuring a certain amount of private education for the females of the higher classes. There was more or less of instruction of some kind now given in hundreds of such families. The desire for female education was manifestly on the increase. And were it not for the arrest laid on the process by the virtual withdrawal of Government support, two or three years ago, he believed that female schools might, by this time, have been established in almost every District of Bengal. He next supplied some interesting statistics relative to the progress of Female Education in the North West Provinces, previous to the mutinies.

Babu Gish Chandra Ghose next addressed the meeting at some length in an animated speech, in which he depicted in a lively way, the difficulties still to be encountered in the education of the young females from the ignorant prejudices and antagonism of mothers, grand-mothers, aunts and other aged relatives. He also asked, whether any of the native Managers of the Bethune Female School sent their own daughters to it? If not, as he had reason to suppose was the case, he asked again, how would they expect the Institution really to prosper and effect all the good it was fitted and designed to produce, if its very Managers, through want of moral courage or any other cause, declined to avail themselves of the benefits which it offered? In order to encourage the natives generally and inspire confidence in the Institution, surely the first duty of the native Managers was to set the example, which they expected to be copied, by sending their own daughters and young female relatives to be instructed and trained there. No valid excuse could be made for holding back from setting an example so much needed. They had it all in their own hands. Over the admission of pupils, the books and subjects to be studied, the system of instruction and discipline, they had absolute control. He concluded, therefore, by expressing a hope that the Rajahs and other native Managers of the Bethune Female School would be able to stimulate their neighbours to avail themselves of the advantages which the School so clearly offered, by pointing to their own example.

Babu Kali Kumar Doss then followed with an energetic address, in which he combated some of the popular objections against Female Education, and furnished some illustrations of the desire which, of late, had been springing up for it, in different parts of the Mofussil.

No other member appearing disposed to prolong the discussion, Sir Bartle Frere arose, amid hearty cheers, to express the great pleasure he had derived from the proceedings of the evening. They were fitted to inspire him with new hopes for the regeneration of India. He thought that his friend on the right (Babu Ramapersad Roy) was somewhat severe on the Government. Its great duty was to administer justice between man and man, to protect the property and maintain the rights and privileges of all classes of its subjects; and to put all, as far as possible, in the way of helping themselves, and advancing by independent efforts, their own welfare.

Having so largely assisted in the education of the males, Government naturally looked to these for the education of their own females, as that was a subject which intimately affected many of the more peculiar habits and usages connected with their domestic economy. Still he had no doubt, that, according to the means at its disposal, the Government would be ever willing to assist in any safe and prudent way, the cause of native improvement in any of its departments. Sir Bartle then furnished some details of a singularly interesting description relative to the progress of Female education in the Presidency of Bombay; and sat down amid the renewed cheers of the audience.

The President then rose and said that as the public business of the evening, so far as the important subject-matter of the lecture was concerned, had now come to a close, the visitors and strangers might desire to withdraw. He hoped, however, that the members of the Society would remain behind for a little as he had a proposition to submit to them. But he could not allow the general meeting to be dissolved without endeavouring very shortly to reiterate and enforce some of the leading sentiments and statements which had been advanced in the course of the evening. This he did in a rapid and summary way. He particularly urged the native gentlemen not to allow the present year to terminate without seeing the Bethune School replenished, to overflowing. It now mustered only *seventy* on its rolls; whereas, according to the testimony of one of the native speakers that night, Calcutta alone ought at once to furnish *seven thousand*. If so, one Bethune School or even a score of Bethune Schools, would not suffice. What then? Had the natives no means of erecting others? No means? Yes, they had means in abundance. Why there were there, that evening, several native gentlemen, any one of whom might erect an edifice equal to that of the Bethune School, and not be the poorer for it! And looking at Calcutta at large, there were native gentlemen who had lares of Rupees in such redundancy, that it would do them a vast deal of good to get rid of some reasonable portion of their superfluous treasures, especially in the promotion of so noble a cause as that of Female Education. But why stop at Calcutta? Why not spread outwards; and, by precept, example, and liberality, rouse and stimulate their slumbering countrymen, until the whole land was covered with monuments of their enlightened beneficence. Some had, in the course of discussion, referred to the little influence of woman in this country, and others to her preponderant influence; a little explanation might shew that both were right. At present her influence might be little for real good, of the highest kind; but powerful, if not preponderant, in the perpetuation of manifold hereditary evils. How could it be otherwise? It was constantly forgotten that, in the formation of character, more was done during the first six years of one's life than during any sixty years afterwards. And who was the principal, if not exclusive former of character at that early age? Who but the mother? Yes, in all ages, countries and climes, mothers have

been, are, and will be, the earliest and most influential teachers of the young. They might not be able to give them formal technical lessons in any branches of study; but they did what is practically of vastly greater importance. They imbued them with their own feelings, their own passions, their own prejudices, their own sympathies and antipathies, their own likings and dislikings, their own impressions of religion, of life, of society, of man;—and all this, with a power which no subsequent personal changes or vicissitudes could wholly shake, and no subsequent education or divers experience, however much it might modify, could ever wholly obliterate or wholly efface.

Comparing the strange mysterious influence of the mother's example and teaching on the susceptible mind of youth to that of the silent dews of heaven falling on the soft soil in spring, imparting nourishment to each tender blade and freshness to each opening flower; he showed how the mother almost unconsciously trained the instincts of the child, implanted its beliefs, and breathed into it the spirit which, surviving youth and middle age, often animated the man when his head was silvered with hoary locks. He then concluded by asking if the mother was thus the earliest and most powerful teacher, whether it was not a question—a practical question of unspeakable importance, what kind of teacher is the mother? What are her qualifications for her momentous task? He implored all educated natives solemnly to ponder such questions as these, and consider what answer conscience and experience would be able to give. Not surely till the mothers of India, who were the first teachers of India's sons and India's daughters, were pronounced more competent for the task than they had been in ages past, could India become truly great, glorious and free. And how could they become competent, if they had not the powers and faculties of their own minds rightly developed, the feelings and affections of their hearts purified, and the impulses and dictates of conscience properly regulated by an enlightened education? When the day came that witnessed such a consummation, then would India, with its prolific soil and its gorgeous scenery, become truly a delightful land, and its homes the abodes of intelligence, joy, and gladness.

Strangers and visitors having then withdrawn, the President submitted to the members who had been requested to remain behind, whether, like all similar societies in Europe and America, they ought not to have a class of "Honorary Members." After fully explaining how in all countries there might be individuals, high in social position, or distinguished for mental attainments, or the liberal patrons of literature and science, who, from circumstances, could not be expected to become ordinary working Members of a Society, but yet who might become associated with it, promote its distinctive objects, and dignify its character and proceedings as Honorary members, the proposition was unanimously agreed to.

The President then intimated that any honor, in order to be an honor, must not become too common, but must be conferred on rare occasions and with due discrimination. With such views on the subject, he would submit the names of only four—two European, and two native,—thus preserving a fair equality. The European gentlemen were two of those whom he had occasion to name that night already, as having conferred incalculable benefits on the native population of India, and as having manifested the deepest interest in that Society. Besides other acts of kindness and good will, both had spontaneously sent him donations of Rs. 100 each, towards assisting in bringing out their intended volume of transactions. He referred to Sir James Outram and Sir Bartle Frere. Of the natives whom he would propose as worthy of the honor, one had been present and had addressed them that evening—the Rajah Kali Kishen—distinguished, as already remarked, in years gone by, for his literary and actively useful labours in connexion with native improvement. The other was one, who, besides being universally

respected for his integrity and consistency of character, distinguished himself as the author of a huge and valuable encyclopedic work in the Bengali language—the Rajah Radhakant Deb; on these grounds, therefore, he would propose Sir James Outram, Sir Bartle Frere, the Rajah Kali Kishen, and the Rajah Radhakant Deb, as Honorary Members of the Bethune Society.

The proposition being cordially and unanimously agreed to, the meeting closed, a little past 10 o'clock.

KOYLAS CHANDRA ROSE,
Acting Secy., Bethune Society.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BETHUNE SOCIETY, HELD AT THE
THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE, ON THURSDAY, THE 12TH
APRIL, 1860.

The Reverend A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Proposed by Sir Bartle Frere, and seconded by the Reverend Mr. Long, that Richard Temple, Esquire, be a member of the Society.

After some preliminary remarks, in which he stated that owing to the native holidays, the inclemency of the weather, and other causes, many leading members, such as Rajah Kali Krishna and others, from whom letters of apology were received, had been prevented from being present, the President called on Mr. Dall to deliver his lecture "On the Rise and Progress of the Arts; with special reference to Oriental as well as Western Architecture."

The lecturer commenced by expounding the nature of Art in general. Art was making knowledge visible, and tangible and useful, as well as sublime and beautiful. Knowledge in itself was abstract and unseen; make it real, and it was Art. Art, then, was not wisdom's meditation, but wisdom's fruit. These, and other similar propositions, the lecturer happily illustrated by various appropriate examples.

He next passed on to speak of *Fine Art*, the first proper head of the lecture, with the simple remark, that the very highest and noblest of Artists, such as Artists in Government, in the organizations of kingdoms and republics, Artists in statesmanship, in popular education, in beneficence and human development, were not usually accounted Artists at all. As to what was technically called Fine Art, poets, painters, sculptors, composers of music and architects had the designation almost exclusively accorded to them. Arts like these were undoubtedly *fine*, as calling into action the finer faculties of man. These Arts also took up the common needs of common life, and divided them from low association; and whatever materials they seized on, were, by their plastic power, purified, elevated, glorified. This proposition was variously and graphically exemplified.

The lecturer then advanced to the more distinctive object of his dissertation, which was *Architecture*. He was glad it was Architecture, fine constructive Art; rather than Painting, fine Art in color; or Sculpture, fine Art in form; or Music, fine Art in sound; or Poetry, fine Art in language. Architecture he defined as the sensation of beauty methodised into building; or an arrangement of building materials which we felt to be beautiful and know to be useful. For reasons, which he briefly unfolded, he supposed that few would dispute the position that of all Fine Arts, Architecture was the Queen. He then pointed to the very clear and satisfactory way in which a nation's architecture shewed its character, as barbaric or civilized, being a type of its refinement and true nobility, or of its opposite rudeness. Here he indicated

that there was one single and absolute criterion by which all architecture, whether Oriental or Western, must be judged; namely, what did it do for man? What was its estimate of man? How did it operate with reference to the exaltation or depression of our common humanity? Nothing on earth was really great, or good, or glorious, except it ministered to human progress, development, perfection.

Accordingly in his view of it, Architecture was only good, so far as it did good, or proved a blessing to the people at large. Judged by such a test, much that was splendid and magnificent in India, Egypt and other lands, could only be condemned. The greatest work on earth was that of influencing human character aright, and all architecture (to noble specimens of which the lecturer referred) which rested upon the lie, that pretty stories are worth more than human minds, was bad, was false in principle; and however it might dazzle the eye or set off the landscape, was rude and uncivilized.

The lecturer then stated how he felt pressed out of measure to know what to do with the colossal proportions of his subject; nothing less than a stout quarto could contain a disquisition, such as one would like to have, upon the rise and progress of Oriental Architecture? So, his only escape was in fleeing from the wide circumference of the vast orbit, toward its little centre; that is, towards a few general and comprehensive facts, to be stated, not argued, not followed out in detail. Such facts, illustrative of the origin and progress of Architecture in many lands, were then introduced in lively and rapid survey, with the texture of which the speaker intermingled many of his own personal experiences, which threw something like a dramatic interest over the whole. In passing, various practical hints and reflections were also thrown out of a decidedly useful character. In immediate connection with his subject, the lecturer was very naturally led to refer to the establishment of the School of Industrial Art in this city, with which he had been connected for the last four years and a half. In pointing out what appeared to him to be the causes of its comparative failure, he suggested whether there might not be opened a school of humbler arts, arts not less honorable, though more strictly industrial than those they had hitherto tried to teach. After specifying in detail some of these humbler arts of easier acquirement and prompter pay, which might be started with little or no capital, the learned lecturer concluded with a good humored apology for descending towards the close, from the *fine* to the *useful*, which was ever the English or American way, always bent on asserting and vindicating the dignity of labor, and on marrying *hand* to *brain*.

It was then proposed by Babu Koylas Chandra Bose and seconded by Babu Kali Kumar Das that thanks from the chair should be given to Mr. Dall for his interesting and instructive lecture.

The President, in warmly returning thanks, said that whatever difference of opinion might exist as to some particular points or illustrations, there could be none as to the generally instructive, suggestive, and appropriate character of the lecture. The Society were, therefore, much obliged to the lecturer for the great pains and trouble he had taken in collecting, condensing and methodising such a mass of valuable materials; some of the views and statements adduced he thought very admirable; and these he (the President) confirmed by additional considerations. He also referred to the famous cave-temples of India, which the lecturer, doubtless, in the exuberance of his materials had been constrained to pass over. And in connection with these, he mentioned some curious facts that had come under his own personal observation; facts which tended to prove that the Buddhistical were older than the Brahmanical,—and that while the former could not have been excavated and modelled many centuries before the Christian era, the latter could only have been formed a few centuries subsequent to the commencement of that era, on the downfall of Buddhism and the all but extermination of the Buddhists in India.

Babu Kali Kumar Das then rose, and while expressing concurrence in the eulogy pronounced on the lecture as a whole, took exception to some of the remarks bearing on the civilization and people of India.

This led to a friendly discussion, in which Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Long, the lecturer, and others took a part. In the course of his remarks, Sir Bartle Frere threw out some very valuable practical suggestions for the guidance of all in judging of the relative merits, or utility and permanence of different styles of Architecture in any land, and concluded by strongly expressing the satisfaction he had derived from the proceedings of the evening.

The President, in his closing address, reviewed the operations of the session about to end, a session, which one of the previous speakers had emphatically pronounced a *glorious* one. He furnished some interesting details, which indicated the line of action adopted and the progress already made by all the sections; and expressed a confident expectation of satisfactory results being, in due time, attained. While expressing grateful thanks to Government for the use of the Hall in which they were assembled, he pointed out its unadaptedness for such meetings as that of the Bethune Society; and fervently appealed to the wealthy natives to come forward and supply the means for erecting a suitable Hall in some convenient locality in the native Town, which might be available for the delivery of public lectures, as well as the convening of all public meetings, whatsoever, connected with the promotion of legitimate native interests. In conclusion, he suggested that, as their next public meeting would not be held till the month of November, and as many important matters might possibly arise during the interval, especially in connection with the working of the sections, it would be expedient to constitute the President, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, together with the Presidents and Secretaries of the sections, into a Provisional Council to watch over the varied interests of the Society, leaving it to the General Meeting in November to erect the Provisional Council into a permanent one, or make such other arrangements as might be deemed proper.

This proposition being considered by all present a very good one, it was carried by acclamation, and the Meeting dissolved, about 11 o'clock.

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Acting Secy., Bethune Society.

THE SESSION OF 1860-61.

THE FIRST MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION WAS HELD
AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON THE 8TH
NOVEMBER, 1860.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in April were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted:—

H. Bell, Esquire, of the Bengal Civil Service, proposed by H. Scott Smith, Esquire, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Long.

Sahibzadah Ahmud Ally Khan, a member of the Mysore family, and Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Pubna, proposed by Maulavi Abdul Luttil, and seconded by Babu Hurromohun Chatterjee.

Babu Trannath Chatterjee, proposed by Babu Kistodas Pal, and seconded by Babu Harrasunker Das.

The following presentations have been received:—

Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Part II., Vol. XI., from the Agricultural Society.

1861.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government relating to Indigo disputes, Parts I. and II., from the Government of Bengal.

Baloyo Babaho Natuk; or, an attempt to expose the evils of early marriage in Bengal, by Sreeputty Mukerjee: from the Author.

General Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency: for 1858-59, from the Director of Public Instruction.

Resolved, that the thanks of the Society be recorded for the abovementioned presentations.

The Acting Secretary read a letter from the Rajah Kali Krishna Bahadur, apologizing for his absence on account of ill-health.

The President then rose and congratulated the Society on the unabated interest which its proceedings continued to excite, as was indicated by the numerous and respectable body of visitors, alike European, East Indian, and Native, present that evening. He hoped that by their deeds, and not their mere words, they would prove themselves worthy of increasing confidence. Referring briefly to the origin, progress, and leading objects of the Society, he adverted to the doings of the Provisional Council during the long vacation. Among other objects which had engaged their attention, he specified the state of the funds, and explained some of the steps taken to put them on a satisfactory footing. Other measures which had been duly discussed and approved of by the Provisional Council, would, in due time, be submitted to the Society.

He next unfolded at some length the nature of the arrangements for the incoming session, and presented the following programme of operations:—

I. Scheme of Lectures.

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| On the second Thursday of
November, | { "The Laws of England," by Mr. Goodeve,
Barrister at Law. |
| 2. Do. Do. of December, | { "Incidents, and impressions of Travel in
Northern, Central, & Western India," by
Rev. Lal Behari De. |
| 3. Do. Do. of January, ... | { "Sketches of the History of the Jews, since the
destruction of Jerusalem," by Mr. Ayerst,
Rector of St. Paul's. |
| 4. Do. Do. of February, | { "The Physical History and Philosophy of Irriga-
tion," by Colonel Baird Smith.* |
| 5. Do. D. of March, | { Lecture by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop
of Calcutta. |
| 6. Do. Do. of April, | { "Vernacular Education in Bengal," by Babu
Rajendra Lal Mittra.† |

As all the public meetings of the Society for general purposes were held on the second Thursday of each month, the President explained that the public meetings for the specific business of the several sections would be held on the fourth Thursday of each successive month. He stated that this year a real commencement would be made in this operative department of the Society, which, he hoped, would be the prelude of vastly greater performances in years to come. The order of bringing up the reports of the different sections by their respective Presidents would be as follows:—

II. Scheme of Reports.

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| The fourth Thursday of
November, | { Mr. Woodrow's report on the subject of
"Education." |
|---|--|

* From circumstances which afterwards arose, Colonel Smith was unable to deliver this Lecture.

† The same remark is applicable to this Lecture.

Do. Do. of December,.....	{ Mr. Cowell's report on "Literature and Philosophy."
Do. Do. of January,	{ Dr. Mouat's Report—on "Sanitary Improvement."*
Do. Do. February,.....	{ Mr. Scott Smith's Report on "Science and Art."
Do. Do. of March,.....	{ Mr. Long's Report on "Sociology."
Do. Do. of April,	{ Babu Ramapersad Roy's Report on "Female Education."

The President would not anticipate the contents of these reports by any disclosures now. The Presidents and Secretaries of the sections had not been idle; and if many promises had hitherto been unrealized, enough had been achieved to indicate what might be expected in future. In referring to Dr. Mouat's report, he very feelingly alluded to the necessity under which the Doctor had suddenly been laid off returning for a season to his native land, on account of impaired health. So staunch a friend, so true a benefactor, they could ill spare. To Dr. Mouat's suggestion the Society was indebted for its first formation. For some years he rendered distinguished service by acting as its President; and he had ever continued to watch over its expanding development with the liveliest interest. The allusive dispensation with which it had pleased an all-wise Providence now to visit him, could not fail to call forth the sympathies of all present. And with keen regrets for his temporary absence, all would join in earnest longing for his return in renovated health and energy.

It was then moved by Babu Nobinkisto Bose, and seconded by Babu Kali Kumar Das, that the Secretary be requested to convey to Dr. Mouat an expression of the sympathy and regrets of the Society, on the occasion of his illness and departure for Europe. The motion was carried with acclamation.

It was next moved by Babu Grishandra Ghose, and seconded by Rev. Lal Behari De, and unanimously agreed to, that the Provisional Council appointed in April last, consisting of the President, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, with the Presidents and Secretaries of the several Sections, should now be declared to be the permanent Council of the Society.

The President then called on Mr. Goodeve to deliver his lecture on "The Laws of England."†

The thanks of the Society having been given by acclamation to the lecturer, for his able, elaborate, and instructive dissertation, a very animated discussion succeeded, in which Babus Nobinkisto Bose, Kali Kumar Das, Grish Chandra Mittra, Mr. Dall, and others, took a part. The eminent merits of the lecturer, and the correct theoretical views of his lecture—the love of equity which characterizes the British as a people, together with the independency and incorruptibility of the Judges within the British Isles—were all cheerfully conceded. But some of the more glaring practical evils connected with the administration of English Laws, such as its expenses, its long delays, its intricate forms of procedure, &c., were all unsparingly exposed. The discussion being closed, the President gave a brief summary or *resumé*, of what had been advanced on both sides, pointing to what was admittedly good, and worthy of being imitated, and to what was admittedly evil, and demanding still further reform. He then concluded with an earnest appeal to the educated Natives to arise to the height of duty in the career of future improvements which India so loudly required at their hands.

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Acting Secretary, Bethune Society.

* Dr. Mouat had become President of the section instead of Dr. Chevers.

† The Lecture itself will be found in Part II. of this volume.

THE SECOND MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION WAS HELD
AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON THE 13TH
DECEMBER, 1860.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in November were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted :—

Maulavi Abdullah,—proposed by Maulavi Abdul Luttfi, and seconded by Babu Hurro Mohun Chatterjea.

Babu Mohendronath Mittra,—proposed by the Acting Secretary, and seconded by Babu K. M. Chatterjea.

Babus Mohendronath Pyne and Essen Chunder Banerjea, proposed by Babu Koneylal Pyne, and seconded by Babu Kali Kumar Das.

The President then rose and gave a brief account of the proceedings of the public meeting of the Section on Education of which Mr. Woodrow is president, held on Thursday, the 29th November; but as a full account will appear in Part III. of this volume, the analysis may here be omitted. The meeting of section was, after Mr. Woodrow's statement, addressed by Mr. Dall, Babus Nobin Kisto Bose, Koylas Chandra Bose, and Dr. Duff.

The President then called on the Rev. Lal Behari De to deliver his intended lecture on "Incidents and Impressions of Travel in Northern, Central, and Western India."

The lecture was repeatedly applauded throughout.*

The meeting was then addressed at some length by Mr. Dall, Babu Kali Kumar Das, Babu Koylas Chandra Bose, Ramchandra Bala Krishna, Esq., from Bombay, and the President of the Society, and broke up about 11 o'clock, greatly edified and refreshed with the proceedings of the evening.

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Acting Secretary, Bethune Society.

THE THIRD MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION WAS HELD
AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON THE
10TH JANUARY, 1861.

The Rev. A. Duff, D. D., LL. D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in December were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted :—

Babus Koylas Chandra Chatterjea and Nitturlohl Lall Laha,—proposed by Babu Hara Sankra Das, and seconded by the Acting Secretary.

Babu Nobo Gopal Mittra,—proposed by Babu Khettra Mohan Mittra, and seconded by the Acting Secretary.

The President then rose and gave a summary of the proceedings of the public meeting of the section on "Philosophy and Literature" of which Mr. Cowell is president; but as the Report itself will be found in Part III. of this volume, the summary is here omitted.

The section was at the close, addressed by Babu Kali Kumar Das, Gopal Chandra Banerjea, Mr. Dall, and the President of the Society.

After some further explanatory remarks respecting the meeting of the section, the President called on Mr. Ayerst, Rector of St. Paul's School, to

* The Lecture itself will be found in Part II.

deliver his promised lecture on "The Jews, since their dispersion after the final destruction of Jerusalem."

The lecturer commenced by shewing that there was no period in the history of the Jews, when they were not entirely distinct from every other people, both in religion and constitution. This topic he illustrated at some length. They were an Asiatic people; and in every region of the earth, they proved themselves, by their manners, habits and customs, to be a genuine Asiatic people still. After illustrating, by striking examples, the extraordinary influence, which, by their commercial and monetary dealings, they have exerted on the destinies of kingdoms and nations, the lecturer went on to consider, at some length:—

I. The varied reception which the Jews have met with in their dispersion.

II. Their national system during their dispersion.

III. Their hopes of restoration to their own land.

On all these topics the lecturer brought forward a variety of historical facts of singular and striking interest—facts, too, not to be met with in ordinary works of Civil History—and concluded by reading an affecting passage from the journals of the celebrated Joseph Wolff relative to the vivid hopes of deliverance now entertained everywhere by the Jews.

After sitting down, a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his able, elaborate, and instructive discourse, was moved, in a few appropriate sentences, by the Rev. Lal Behari De, seconded by Babu Koylas Chandra Bose, and carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. Long then offered some suggestions.

As no other member seemed disposed to speak, the President rose and spoke at some length on some of the leading topics of the lecture, furnishing various illustrative facts which had come under his own observation in different quarters of the world—Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. He stated the result of his personal inquiries into the peculiarities of the black and white Jews of Cochin, a subject which had often puzzled the most learned ethnographers. He particularly endeavoured to fasten attention on the topic with which the learned lecturer had first started—a topic which might well be designated the great problem and miracle of history, viz., the continued preservation of the denationalized, scattered, and homeless Jews, as a distinct and peculiar people, amid the unparalleled persecutions of eighteen hundred years. The mightiest of the oppressors that swayed the sceptre of universal empire, vainly arrogating for their city the proud title of "Eternal," where were they now? Swallowed up and lost in the vortex of commingling tribes and peoples, and nations. Who, at this day, could distinguish on the soil of Italy, the descendants of the old Romans from the posterity of their captive slaves or Gothic conquerors? Yet at this day, the Jew, on the soil of Italy and within the walls of old Rome, retained as fully the integrity of the ancient Israelitish character, and was as fully marked out by his physiognomical, social, and religious peculiarities, as on the day when the legions of the Imperial Caesar razed the foundations of Jerusalem, and scattered her children to the four winds of heaven. Almost every age and clime might point to its expatriated multitudes; but here was a whole nation, by violence, expatriated. These expatriated multitudes had always found an asylum somewhere in other lands. They had either been incorporated on equitable terms with the communities that gave them refuge, or they had colonized new regions and formed themselves into independent commonwealths. But never, never, had the exiles of Judah found a real asylum—a home—in any land. And never yet, had their original and distinguishing idiosyncracies melted away. Nowhere had they been enfeoffed in the full rights and privileges of Gentile citizenship; and yet nowhere had they been consensed into the surrender of their hated identity.

After pointing out the ethical, ethnographical, providential, and other lessons to be drawn from this strange and stunning historical anomaly, and illustrating from his own personal observation, the present condition of Palestine, naturally fertile but turned into a sterile desert, and emptied of inhabitants, from ages of oppression and misgovernment;—after referring once more to the millions of dispersed Jews now without a home in any region of the earth, but wistfully and longingly looking towards peeled, emptied, and deserted Palestine, as their proper home—a home waiting as it were, in readiness to receive the lineal descendants of its ancient possessors;—and after directing attention to the views of sagacious statesmen, profound philosophers, and earnest religious men, on a phenomenon so striking and extraordinary, the President concluded by congratulating the Society on the progress already made, and on the interest manifested in its proceedings by the presence, on so tempestuous a night of thunder, lightning and rain, of so large and respectable an audience,

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,
Acting Secretary, Bethune Society.

THE FOURTH MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION WAS HELD
AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON THE 19TH
FEBRUARY, 1861.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in January were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following name was then submitted as a candidate for election :

Reverend D. Stuart,—proposed by the Acting Secretary, and seconded by Babu Khetter Chunder Ghose.

After the report was read and approved, the President gave an account of the proceedings of the Medical and Sanitary section held on Thursday, 24th January last. He stated that in the necessitated absence of the respected President of the section, Dr. Mouat, the Secretary, Babu Nobin Kristo Bose, had prepared and read an elaborate report. That report which he characterized in highly eulogistic terms, will be found in Part III. of this volume.

The subject having excited much interest, a spirited conversation ensued, in which Babus Kali Kumar Das, Grish Chandra Ghose, and Koylas Chandra Bose, Mr. Dall, and the President of the Society, took a part. All these gentlemen contributed some new facts and offered some useful suggestions. Such reports and discussions could not fail ultimately to render valuable service to the cause of humanity amongst us.

The President next explained why the regular night of meeting had been changed to that evening (19th Feb.) as also the circumstances under which Mr. Brett had promptly and kindly responded to the call made upon him, in consequence of Colonel Baird Smith having been suddenly ordered to the North West in connection with the famine. His absence was to them a great loss, but on the score of our common humanity, we ought to rejoice that our loss might prove a great gain to our suffering fellow-subjects. The mission of Colonel Baird Smith, as he had good reason for concluding, was to open up sundry large questions connected with the causes of the present famine and the possible prevention of future similar calamities. As regarded Mr. Brett, it added to his kindness in the matter that he appeared amongst them that night heroically to discharge the duty which he had voluntarily undertaken,

though suffering much pain from a recent accident. Lastly, the President congratulated the Society on the prospect of hearing a lecture from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta on Thursday, 14th March, on a worthy and congenial theme—"The University of Cambridge." The President then called on Mr. Brett to deliver his lecture on "The Phenomena of Sleep."

The lecturer commenced by remarking that sleep was a subject on which the greatest of poets as well as metaphysicians had philosophised, and quoted some striking passages from Shakspeare and other authors. He then defined sleep, not in itself, but by its more obvious characteristics, noting the causes by which it was ordinarily superinduced, and its more palpable signs. The proper season and due quantity of sleep, in the case of persons of different ages and varying physical constitution were clearly pointed out. Among the uses of sleep, its restorative power alike as regards mind and body when exhausted, was exhibited under a great variety of aspects, physiological and practical. Among the effects of sleep he dwelt chiefly on dreaming. The peculiarities of dreams were illustrated by a vast profusion of deeply interesting facts; with notices of the light which they shed on the nature of the soul itself, its exalted powers and capabilities, its self activity in spite of its being conditioned by bodily relations, its independency of the external world, when all communication with it is cut off through the suspended action of the organs of sense, its soarings beyond the narrow bounds of materialism, and its communings with a world of spirits. The subject of prophetic dreams, the foreshadowings of dreams, and of dreams as indicative of the habits and character of the dreamer, were also expounded at some length. The singular phenomena of nightmare were also illustrated. After noticing that the habit of much and constantly recurring sleep among any people indicated a want of mental and moral excitement he concluded a richly varied, lucid, interesting, and most instructive dissertation with some sound, practical counsels to his Native audience, whose approving plaudits soon testified how fully they had appreciated his eminent and disinterested services.

After the lecturer sat down, several gentlemen favoured the meeting with their views on the subject. Babu Grish Chandra Ghose stated some singular facts, one especially relative to some young men who, wishing to enjoy the *Jatras* and other amusements of the Durga Puja holidays, went to a hay-loft to have a sound undisturbed sleep before the commencement of the festivities; and who, from the closeness of the air and other causes, got into a state resembling that of hybernation, and slept all through the three days of the Puja without once awaking.

Babu Nobin Kristo Bose gave a medico-philosophic view of the subject, shewing how a sound analysis of the phenomena of mind in sleep helped to enable us to discriminate between many true and false appearances; and tended to throw much light on the real nature of mesmerism, spirit-rapping, and other marvels which have excited much of undue admiration on the one hand, and much of undeserved ridicule and contempt on the other.

Babu Khetter Chandra Ghose, while highly applauding the lecture as a whole, referred to one or two points in which, though with much diffidence, he differed somewhat from the learned lecturer.

Babu Koylas Chandra Bose stated some facts, from his own experience, relative to the superior vividness with which certain ideas might be represented, and the superior ability with which certain objects might be accomplished in dreams.

The lecturer having briefly explained, the discussion was brought to a close by some concluding remarks from the President of the Society on the subject generally; and more especially on the real nature of dreams as composed of ideas, mistaken for sensations, while the organs of sense and the voluntary

powers were nearly, if not altogether, suspended. These trains or successions of ideas, as he shewed, however apparently lawless, were in reality regulated by laws of which psychological science furnished the satisfactory exponent. But though from the time of Aristotle down to Sir William Hamilton the subject of sleep and dreams had occupied the enquiries of the profoundest thinkers, much yet remained for future students of the phenomena of mind. And he fervently hoped that the processes of education now in operation throughout the land would awaken and stimulate the slumbering energies of many a youth, whose faculties would otherwise have lain dormant, adding only to the mass of waste and uncultured intellects that had been accumulating through past ages, and that from such awakened intellects might emanate many an original contribution to every department of literature, science and philosophy—not omitting the phenomenology of sleep.

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Acting Secretary, Bethune Society.

THE FIFTH MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION WAS
HELD AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON
THE 14TH MARCH, 1861.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL. D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in February were read and confirmed.

The candidates proposed at the last meeting were unanimously elected.

The following names of candidates for election were then submitted :—

W. S. Atkinson, Esq.,—proposed by Mr. Woodrow, and seconded by Babu Harromohun Chatterjea.

Captain C. B. Malleson and R. Remfry, Esq.,—proposed by the Acting Secretary, and seconded by Babu H. M. Chatterjea.

Babu Nirunjun Mukerjea,—proposed by Babu Kistodas Pal, and seconded by the Acting Secretary.

The following presentations have been received :—

Statistical and Geographical reports of the Murshedabad district by Captain J. E. Gastrell, from the Government of Bengal.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government relative to the suppression of Dacoity in Bengal, from the Government of Bengal.

Hints on Education in India with special reference to Vernacular Schools, by John Murdoch, Esq., from the author.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be recorded for the above-mentioned presentations.

The President then stated that since, from the reasons assigned at the last meeting, there was no report from the section on science and art, he would at once call on the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta to deliver his intended lecture on the University of Cambridge. The subject was one of a singularly appropriate character at the present juncture in our own University affairs, besides being of intrinsic interest in itself. Though the hall was filled even to overcrowding, he was sure, from his past experience of the excellent demeanour of an educated Native audience, that the Right Rev. lecturer would be listened to with the attention due alike to the subject and his own exalted position. He trusted, also, that the very fact of one occupying such a position, responding so promptly and so cheerfully to the call made upon him, would satisfy his Native friends, that, among all right-minded and right-hearted Europeans, there existed nought but the most cordial good

will towards the Natives of this land, and the most earnest desire to benefit them in every way in their power.

The Bishop then arose and delivered his Lecture which will be found in Part II. of this volume.

On the applause which followed the delivery of the lecture subsiding, the President stated that the Rajah Kali Krishna, an honorary member of the Society, would address the meeting in his own Vernacular tongue.

On this, the Rajah arose, and in a clear tone and elegant Bengali style delivered a short address, of which the following is a free translation :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—You must have paid due attention to, and have derived great gratification by hearing, what has just fallen from the lips of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop. We are therefore thankful to His Lordship for the trouble he has taken in delivering the lecture. In days of yore when the Hindus held the reins of government, several *chotuspatis* or scholastic institutions were maintained in various localities by the rulers, where different branches of Hindn science and art were taught. Many Pundits or learned men support, even in these hard times, their pupils from the proceeds of their own honorable earnings; and teach them gratuitously in their respective *chotuspatis*, which still, I believe, amount to the number of at least one hundred. In commendation of this inestimable gift of learning, I have selected out of our numerous *Shastras*, a few *slokas* or stanzas on education, for your information. Were I to attempt reading to you all that might be quoted, even this whole night would not be sufficient for the rehearsal.

The *slokas* are the following :—

“ Learning makes a deformed person handsome, and is the hidden sublime treasure. Learning is the loving object of the pious, stimulus to virtuous habits, and is the sovereign preceptor. Learning secures the affections of friends, and is supremely admired. Learning is the source of wealth and fame, and elevates the position of families. A man destitute of learning resembles a brute.”—*Garuda Purana*.

“ There has never been, nor will be, any higher largess than learning. O wise man! nothing exists which can be reckoned a greater boon than education.”—*Pudma Purana*.

“ He who daily instructs in an institution, gains respect everywhere.”—*Devi Purana*.

I now beg to hand over the paper containing the *slokas* to our worthy President, who, I doubt not, has been pleased to hear them.

After the Rajah sat down, the meeting was addressed successively by Babus Nobin Kristo Bose, Grish Chandra Ghose, Mohendralal Shome and Gopal Chandra Banerjea, all of whom spoke warmly in praise of the lecture, while they added some valuable remarks and suggestions of their own.

Babu Grish Chandra Ghose having among his other remarks referred approvingly to Mr. Hodgson Pratt's proposed plan of sending young Natives to be educated in England, Mr. Dall, towards the close, rose to ask, whether, as there was more than one Rajah there that evening, they would furnish the means of enabling a young man, who was willing, to proceed forthwith to England?

The President then rose and said, that as no one seemed disposed to reply, he would offer a few remarks, in the hope of bringing the whole discussion to a friendly and harmonious conclusion. He fully sympathised with the general object aimed at by Mr. Pratt and the learned gentleman who now asked so grave and practical a question. But while he thus fully sympathised with the general object, he very much doubted whether that was the most auspicious moment for demanding the pecuniary means of its immediate attainment. He concluded, therefore, that the main design of the learned

gentleman in propounding his question was merely to give prominence to a subject which claimed early and earnest consideration on the part of wealthy and influential Natives, really interested in the welfare of their country. For some months past many claims of a public and philanthropic kind had been pressed upon the community, to which individual gentlemen, alike European and Native, had most liberally responded. Of late, in particular, a loud cry of lamentation and woe from myriads of famishing and dying fellow subjects in the North West had been sounded in their ears; and for his own part, he (the President) was forced to confess, that he almost grudgingly the diversion of any spare funds from the immediately urgent and pressing object of rescuing thousands, of all sexes and of all ages, from a cruel and lingering death and a premature grave. In due time, when the present most clamant necessities were more adequately provided for, he himself had a larger and more comprehensive scheme than that of sending a few young men to England, to press upon the Rajahs, Zemindars, and men of wealth generally in this land. That was to furnish, by way of contributions when living, or of legacies when dying, some lakhs of rupees for the erection of a suitable University building, with senate house, examination halls, museum, lecture rooms, &c.; and the endowment of certain University professorships or lectureships on the higher branches of certain sciences, or of sciences that required the use of mineralogical and other collections, extensive and costly apparatus, with experiments, &c., &c. They ought to remember that all the colleges of the English Universities were in reality private establishments and endowments; not establishments and endowments founded by the State, and at the expense of the public funds. Some of them at Cambridge, such as Clare College, Pembroke College, were, in point of fact, founded and endowed by noble ladies; and had not India also noble ladies quite able, if only willing, to found Indian Colleges? The other day, one died leaving 40 lakhs of rupees in Government securities, besides as much more of other property. If, ere she died, she had sent 20 lakhs for the relief of the wretched sufferers in the North-West, and the other twenty to our noble Chancellor for the erection and endowment of a Calcutta University, would she not have raised a glorious monument to her own memory, while her surviving friends and relatives would still have enough and to spare? He would, therefore, in due time, urge this momentous subject on the serious attention of the wealthy and liberal in this land. And perhaps the time might come when this city of palaces might also become a city of colleges like Cambridge or Oxford; perhaps many of the gardens in the neighbourhood might be literally turned into Academic groves, and the garden villas into stately colleges, in which myriads of Indian youth might have not only their intellectual, but their higher spiritual life, with all the bodily energies, fully and harmoniously developed, and their whole souls stirred up and stimulated to feats of highest intellectual and moral chivalry.

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,

Acting Secretary, Bethune Society.

1681.

THE SIXTH OR LAST MONTHLY MEETING OF THE PRESENT SESSION
WAS HELD AT THE THEATRE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE ON
THE 18TH APRIL, 1861.

The Rev. A. Duff, D.D., LL. D., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting in March were read and confirmed.

The President then rose, and after some preliminary remarks, stated that the public meeting of the Section on Sociology, or Social Science, would

be held on Thursday, the 25th. Mr. Long, the President of the Section, would then bring up his report.* From personal knowledge he could testify that Mr. Long had spared no pains in accumulating information, and in preparing hundreds of questions, for the purpose of eliciting still more. He (the President) earnestly impressed on his native friends the vast importance of the subject. Sociology, as a Science, was of comparatively recent origin; but was now strenuously cultivated by many of the leading philosophers and statesmen of the age, including such men as Lord Brougham, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Stanley, and other philanthropists. The phenomena of society, hitherto regarded as so complicated, and apparently so lawless, were in the course of being gradually classified, generalized and reduced under laws as orderly as those which governed the cosmical phenomena. He hoped, therefore, that intelligent Natives would lend effective aid in collecting and recording accurate facts which might lay the basis of sound induction. Indian society, however immobile in ages past, was now in a rapidly transitional state; and it was a matter of national interest to seize on, and faithfully delineate habits, manners, customs, usages, and institutions, ere they blended in dim confusion with the evanescent forms of the past. It was also a duty which the more intelligent members of Hindu society owed to themselves, heartily to co-operate in giving the world a genuine portraiture of their own social condition, in all its varied aspects, external and internal. Strangers and travellers, rapidly passing through any country were ever apt, from ignorance and imperfect opportunities of observation, to furnish only snatches, fragments, or even caricatures of social phenomena. How much more so in a country like India, where the laws of caste, hereditary seclusion of females, and sundry other exclusive habits rendered accurate observation, to a great extent, an impossibility to the foreigner. He earnestly hoped, therefore, that all educated Natives would warmly co-operate with their friend Mr. Long, in supplying authentic materials, whence might be formed a portraiture of Hindu society that might challenge the palm of incontestible fidelity, and lay the foundation for suggestions towards indefinite improvement.

After a few more remarks, in which it was explained why the Reports of the other two sections on "Science and Art" and "Female Education" were not ripe for presentation this session, the President called on the Rev. Professor Banerjee, to deliver his lecture on "The relation between the Hindu and Buddhistic systems of philosophy, and the light which the history of the one throws on the other."

The lecturer, among other things, directed attention to the similarity in many respects between the Nyaya and other systems of Brahmanical philosophy and the Buddhistic system. Which of these, then, was the original, and which the derivative; which the borrower, and which the lender?

To this question an elaborate answer was returned, tending to prove that the peculiar ideas of life, the world, *mukti* &c., had been thrown into the definite shapes they now bear in all the systems of Hindu philosophy after the model, and under the influence, of Buddhistic philosophy.

Here, however, by way of objection to this startling conclusion, it might be asked: Are not the Upanishads of the Vedas pre-Buddhistic writings, and do they not contain the transcendental doctrines of Hindu philosophy? In answer to this question, the lecturer affirmed:—

1st. That those Upanishads, which decidedly belong to the Vedic period and are therefore pre-Buddhistic, do not contain the transcendental doctrines just referred to; certainly not in anything like definite shapes, and assuredly not the Maya-Veda, or theory of the non-reality of the world.

* This Report will be found in Part III. of this volume.

2nd. That those Upanishads which do inculcate the doctrines in question are clearly of later date than the Vedic, and may be reasonably considered post-Buddhistic.

In support of these affirmative propositions the learned lecturer adduced a variety of telling facts and powerful arguments. Following up the affirmations thus substantiated by additional considerations, the lecturer emphatically declared that he had a right to conclude that the fundamental doctrines of the Hindu philosophy are borrowed from the Buddhistic; that they are not found in pre-Buddhistic writings; that Buddhism had so far insinuated itself into Hindu circles, that Brahmanical teachers themselves unconsciously took up the principles of their adversaries when India was cleared of them; and that at the very moment, when the followers of Sakya Muni left their country as exiles, his doctrines and principles got the firmest footing on the soil which the Brahmins thought they had successfully weeded.

Throughout the lecture, which will be found in Part II. of this volume, the positions of the author were sustained by a great variety of quotations or *slokas* from the Shastras, which were read in the original Sanskrit, as well as translated into English. The cadences of these rythmical *slokas*, read with suitable intonation of voice, greatly enhanced the charms of the lecture to a Native audience; and the lecturer, who was repeatedly cheered throughout, sat down amid loud applause.

The President then rose and said that the Rajah Kali Krishna, an honorary member of the Society, whom he was always happy to see amongst them, would shortly address the meeting. Of the address which was delivered in a clear and pleasing tone, the following is a free translation :—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The lecture that has this evening been delivered by the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, has been written with great diligence and labour. He therefore deserves our warmest thanks.

To write or speak upon a subject in which religion is more or less blended with philosophy, is not an ordinary task. I beg, therefore, merely to say, without long detaining you, and with no intention of provoking any controversy contrary to the rules of this Society, that Buddhism, as such, whether viewed as a philosophy or a religion, has been professedly disliked by all the authors of our different Shastras; and hope by my so doing, the lecturer will not be offended.

According to our popular sacred books, there are five leading classes of worshippers, viz. *Vaishnava* or follower of Vishnu, *Shakta* or follower of the Goddess; *Shaiva* or follower of Shiva; *Saurya* or follower of the sun; and *Gunpatya* or follower of Gunesha.

Each of these sects has, in varying proportions, three inherent qualities;—namely *sattva*, entity or goodness; *raja*, badness or passion; and *tama*, darkness or indifference.

Buddhism, or the religion of the *Jainas*, is the specific system of persuasion leading to annihilation and atheism, which has been abhorred by the propounders of our popular Shastras, as will be found in *Matsya purana*.

The following is a free version of the *slokas* or stanzas :—

“Subsequently, Vrihaspati having propitiated the planets for Indra, and blessed him for his prosperity, went to the sons of Rاج, who were violators of the Vedas and infatuated them by the aid of the Jainas’ contemptuous religion.

“The said wise Vrihaspati having known those sons to be transgressors of the doctrines laid down in the sacred books, expelled them from the domain of the three Vedas. And Indra (the king of gods) then with his weapon *vajra* killed those deserters of all religion.”

With these few remarks, Mr. President, and Gentlemen, I sit down.

The Rajah, who was listened to with profound attention, having sat

down amid loud cheers, the President rose and expressed a hope that, on a subject so peculiarly and nationally Hindu, some of the learned Native gentlemen present would favour them with a free and fearless expression of their sentiments. The main discussion did not concern the truth or untruth of religious doctrines. It was a question as to the priority or posteriority of certain philosophical principles, now generally known as transcendentalism. Wholly different from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, the Hindus had no chronology to guide the studious enquirer into the order of development of the national mind, in the department of Literature, Science or Philosophy. An interesting question, therefore, like that raised by the lecturer, was one which must be solved, if ever conclusively settled at all, by the use of legitimate criticism, and our knowledge of the progress and development of human thought, in parallel or analogous cases in other lands.

Babu Khetter Chandra Ghose then strongly condemned the doctrines of Buddhism, and all "transcendental nonsense"; strenuously urged the young to give heed to practical philosophy, and especially the philosophy of duty; and declared he was proud to think that one of his countrymen had been able to favour them with so masterly a lecture.

Babu Grish Chandra Ghose thought the last speaker was rather hard on the transcendental philosophy, which had done much towards accumulating the faculties of the learned in India; but concurred in his commendation of the philosophy of duty and of the admirable lecture to which they had listened.

Babu Khetter Chandra Ghose briefly replied.

No other appearing disposed to speak, the President, in a short concluding address, referred to certain parts of the Puranic mythology which was indisputably post-Buddhistic, and to some curious facts connected with the cave temples in Western India, the oldest of which were Buddhistic, and the more recent, Brahmanical counterpart imitations, in corroboration of the general argument and conclusion of the lecture. He briefly referred to the four generic systems of philosophy, which separately and successively, or contemporaneously and interblended, had been developed in India, Greece and modern Europe; viz., sensationalism, idealism, scepticism and mysticism, which, after fiercely combating and chasing each other out of repute if not existence, seemed to leave the human mind in a state of hopeless, helpless despondency. Still instead of actually desponding, they ought to take courage from the very failures of the past. For when the human mind, in such widely separated regions and far distant ages, has repeatedly trodden the same dreary cycles of barren thought and fruitless speculation, it will learn the sources of its own weakness and strength, and be better able to distinguish between the attainable and the unattainable. Instead of any longer divorcing reason from faith, philosophy from religion, it will, in true philosophy, find a confirmation of the principles of a living faith; and, in true religion, the grandest consummation of the promptings of enlightened reason. True philosophy will furnish the explanation of the phenomena of the universe as cognizable by man; true religion will duly unfold the invisible, the infinite, the eternal. And when, from the harmonious culture of both, the powers and faculties of the intellect, braced, invigorated, and enlarged, will shoot out healthfully in all directions; and the feelings and affections of the heart, purified from the base alloy of evil passions and blinding prejudices, will no longer send forth noxious fumes to darken or bedim the unscaled eye of the understanding; when all that is really useful in science, all that is graceful and softening in the fine arts, all that is ennobling in the visible works of creation, all that is elevating in the lessons of revelation, shall blend their united influences in promoting the highest

good of man, and enhancing the glory of the great God :—then, in the beautiful language of Milton, may we be privileged warrantably to exclaim—

“How charming is divine philosophy !
 Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
 But musical as is Apollo's lute,
 And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets, .
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.”

KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE,
Acting Secy., Bethune Society.

LIST OF LECTURERS AND SUBJECTS OF LECTURE
FROM 8TH JANUARY, 1852, TO 12TH MAY, 1859.

1. On "The Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta."—By Dr. S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY.
2. On "Sanskrit Poetry."—By the Rev. K. M. BANERJEA.
3. On "the Bengali viewed with reference to his physical, social, intellectual and moral habits, past and present."—By Babu ISSUR CHANDRA MITTRA.
4. On "Bengali Poetry."—By Babu HUR CHANDRA DUTT.
5. On "the Tragedy of Macbeth."—By Mr. LEWIS, Principal of the Dacca College.
6. On "a Comparative View of the European and Hindu Drama."—By Babu KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE.
7. On "the Education and Training of Children in Bengal."—By Babu PEARY CHARN SIKKAR.
8. On "the Present State and Future Prospects of Agriculture in Bengal."—By Babu RAMSANKER SEIN.
9. On "Civil Engineering and Architecture."—By Colonel GOODWYN.
10. On "the Electric Telegraph."—By Mr. H. WOODROW.
11. On "the Relative and Absolute Advantages of Science and Literature in a Collegiate Education."—By Babu PRASUNA KUMAR SURBUDHIKARRY.
12. On "the Present State of Education at Krishnaghur with a few short remarks on the Character and Social Position of the educated natives of Bengal."—By Babu OMESH CHANDRA DUTT.
13. On "the Great Exhibition of Arts."—By Mr. GRISSENTHWAITE.
14. On "the Sanskrit language and Literature" in English and Bengali.—By Pundit ISSUR CHANDRA VIDYA SAGOR.
15. On "the Practical Working and Varieties of the Electric Telegraph."—By Mr. WOODROW.
16. On "the Orders of Architecture."—By Colonel GOODWYN.
17. On "the Comparative merits of the Laws of Primogeniture and equal succession—considered with reference to the principles of natural justice and political economy and their influence on the morals of a nation."—By Babu MOHENDRALAL SHOME.
18. "On Education in Bengal, and the necessity of Instruction in the Vernacular language of the country."—By Babu JUGGODESH NATH ROY.
19. "On Architecture as a Science by illustration and comparison of the two grand divisions of the Art, viz. : the ancient and classic and the mediæval or pointed."—By Colonel GOODWYN.
20. On "Bengali Life and Society."—By Babu HUR CHANDRA DUTT.
21. On "Bridging the Hooghly."—By Colonel GOODWYN.
22. On "Music."—By Mr. KIRKPATRICK.
23. On "Poetic Composition."—By Mr. GRISSENTHWAITE.
24. On "the Women of Bengal."—By Babu KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE.
25. On "the Physical Education of the people of India."—By Dr. S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY.

26. On "The Sankhya Philosophy."—By Dr. E. ROER.
27. "Vernacular Education in Bengal."—By the Rev. LAL BEHARI DE.
28. On "The Industrial School of Arts in its social and commercial bearings."—By Babu NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.
29. On "The Power and Responsibilities of Knowledge, with special reference to the duties the educated natives owe to their country," (two parts).—By Babu CHANDRA SEKUR GUPTA.
30. On "Phrenology."—By Dr. H. M. GREENBOW.
31. On "the Chemical effects of Electricity" with a notice of electro-plating process.—By Mr. R. STERLING.
32. On "The Laws of Public Health" (in two parts).—By Dr. N. CHEEVERS.
33. "English Education in Bengal."—By the Rev. LAL BEHARI DE.
34. "Readings."—By the Rev. Mr. BELLEW.
35. On "A Project for the Incorporation of a Society of Arts and Sciences in Bengal," with designs for a Building suited to the purposes of the Society.—By Colonel GOODWYN.
36. On "the Importance of Physiological Knowledge," in reference to marriage education, &c.—By Babu NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.
37. "A Hindu Woman as a Wife and a Widow."—By Babu NOBIN CHANDRA PALIT.
38. "On Trial by Jury."—By Mr. KIRKPATRICK.
39. On "The Re-marriage of Hindu Widows in Bengal."—By Babu TARUNKNATH DUTT.
40. "Pizarro, the Conquerer of Peru."—By the Rev. C. H. A. DALL.
41. "On the Nature of the Evidences on which the Truth of Phrenology is founded."—By Babu KALI KUMAR DAS.
42. "Terrestrial Magnetism and connected Phenomena."—By Dr. HALLEUR.
43. On "the Origin and Development of Modern Science."—By Dr. HAYES.
44. On "the Temperance Movement in Modern Times."—By the Rev. C. H. A. DALL.
45. "On Combustion in reference to Respiration and Ventilation."—By Dr. HALLEUR.
46. "Hindu Female Education how best achieved under the present circumstances of Hindu Society."—By Babu KOYLAS CHANDRA BOSE.
47. "Reminiscences of a visit to North America."—By Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON.
48. "Readings from Shakspeare."—By Mr. JAMES HUME.
49. On "the Mormons and their Leader, Joseph Smith."—By the Rev. C. H. A. DALL.
50. On "Electro Magnetism."—By Mr. R. STERLING.
51. On "the Moral Spirit of early Greek Poetry."—By Mr. G. SMITH.
52. On "Meteorology."—By Dr. H. HALLEUR.
53. On "Chemistry as applied to Agriculture."—By Dr. G. E. EVANS.
54. On "the Landed Tenure in Bengal."—By Babu NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.
55. "Modern Enterprises of Benevolence in Great Britain."—By McLEOD WYLIE, Esquire.
56. On "the Adaptation of the Eye to varying Distances."—By Babu MAHENDROLAL SIKKAR.
57. Readings from "Marmion" and the "Lady of the Lake."—By JAMES HUME, Esq.
58. On "the Philosophy of Conscience."—By the Rev. C. H. A. DALL.
59. On "the most Distinguishing Characteristics of Modern Civilization."—By Babu KALI KUMAR DAS.
60. On "Native Education."—By Dr. S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY.

61. On "China and the Chinese."—By Mr. CHALONER ALABASTER.
62. On "the Best Mode of Instructing the Females of India."—By Babu HARROPERSAD CHATTERJEE.
63. "On Manhood."—By the Rev. C. H. A. DALL.
64. "On Conscience, its Nature, Functions with a brief review of the leading theories regarding it."—By Mr. GEORGE SMITH.
65. On "the Theory of Punishment."—By CHARLES PIFFARD, Esquire.
66. "On Astronomy."—By Professor BURGESS.
67. On "the Individual and Social Benefits of Physical Education."—By Dr. EVANS.

PART II.

LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE MONTHLY MEETINGS.

CONCLUSION OF THE LECTURE ON "DR. LIVINGSTONE AND AFRICAN ENTERPRIZE,"

BY

BABU NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—*At the time when this Lecture was delivered, Dr. Livingstone's work was new. Since then it has been in the hands of every one. The body of the Lecture is therefore omitted, and the conclusion alone retained. As a substitute for the body of the Lecture on Livingstone's Discoveries, it has been deemed expedient to publish another previously delivered by the same author on "Landed Tenure in Bengal," on account of the intense interest which, in the present crisis of Indian affairs, rightly attaches to the subject.*

But independently even of the nature of the influence which Dr. Livingstone's enterprize may exercise on the future welfare of the African tribes, there is a moral grandeur in all acts of self-denying heroism, the effect of which ought not to be lost upon the mind. Here we have seen a man enduring toil and privation and suffering of every kind, month after month, and year after year, in a burning and pestiferous climate, only that, in the progress of events, some good may result from his labours to the wretched and degraded inhabitants of a distant and even unknown portion of the earth. How much, then, inspired by his example, ought we to toil and labour that good may come to ourselves and our own native land! At a time like the present, in particular, when all things are progressing with the rapidity of steam, it doubly behoves us to be active and on the alert, as well to promote the development of the physical resources of the country, as the social and moral regeneration of ourselves and the less favored portion of our fellow countrymen. In a former lecture which I had the honor to deliver before this Society, I pointed out how, after having

attained some degree of excellence, our arts and manufactures have fallen into decay, and been superseded by the institution of superior and more scientific processes in Europe. Yet why must they be suffered to remain in this state of decay? Why cannot a number of active and enlightened native youth proceed to Europe, and, studying the practical applications of the modern discoveries of science, transplant them here? What is there in the nature of things to prevent this being done? Science and art own no local bounds. They are universal property,—the common heritage of those who will only strive and be at the trouble to make them theirs. How foolish and irrational then not to assert and make good one's claim to this precious right. Some years since, too, the civil and medical* appointments of the State were brought within the reach of the educated natives. Yet why has such little disposition been manifested to avail of the proffered boon? Why, with two solitary exceptions, have not the alumni of our colleges entered into the arena of competition with the English youth, to win glory and advantage to themselves and raise the social status of their countrymen at large? Surely no superstitious scruple or prejudice about caste ought to be the cause: from this, I will undertake to say, their minds have long been liberated and freed. Such, however, is the peculiar organization of Hindu society, that a youth no sooner comes to years of discretion, than he finds himself entangled in a network of influences which leave him not the master of himself. Brilliant designs he may form at college, but on entering the world, he finds a variety of causes at work to damp his ardour and disconcert his plans. Oftentimes he sees himself without means or influence to carry them into effect. Instead of being abetted and encouraged by those to whom he naturally turns for help, he is thwarted and opposed by them in every possible way, and can only murmur and grumble before companions equally powerless with himself. But what after all is the inference to be hence deduced? Is the Hindu, however enlightened or educated, to remain practically ever in the fetters which priestcraft forged for him some thousands of years ago? Is he never to acquire manly independence, not merely of thought but of action too? Must he be the perpetual victim of influences which for ages have stunted his mental growth? and pass from the genial atmosphere of an English college, to sink back, ever and again, into the stinking mire of rank hereditary errors? Or does it not rather devolve on those, who, benefiting themselves by the light of western philosophy, have since become

* It is much to be regretted that the Covenanted Medical Service has since been again closed to the natives.

wealthy and influential members of society, to tear away, with a bold and steady hand, those cobwebs of social prejudice, which have strangled, as it were, the rising aspirations of youth; and acting the part of pilots to those who follow, keep them clear of those shoals and sandbanks, on which, in their own early schemes of enterprise, perhaps, they had stranded themselves. If each will only try this in his own family, by aiding and abetting those under his guardianship and care, to embark in all projects of rational enterprise, and assert due liberty of action for themselves, there will be formed, at least, the first nucleus of a band, which swelling, in course of time, into a mighty phalanx, will level down with ease, the barriers which bigotry and superstition have opposed to the progressive development of the national mind. Even to do this much, it is true, some inconvenience will have to be suffered, and some social persecution endured. But when was abuse ever corrected, or folly chastised, without a struggle? The student of history, and that of Modern Europe in particular, requires not to be told what trials and dangers and persecutions had to be undergone by the reformers there; and how those great and noble spirits braved even the frowns of kings and emperors in defence of right principle and of truth. Here, at least, the reformer is secure, if not of the active support, at all events—of the cordial sympathies of the ruling power, and can, therefore, have no very serious risk or hazard to apprehend. But, alas! it has not been the good fortune of India yet to bring forth any number of patriots, who would stand even a popgun, or the frothy volleys of some impotent ire on her account. Even those best able to serve her, from the position they occupy in society and the means they have at command, have, in all but words, deserted her cause. From a strange craving after notoriety among the mob, or to propitiate, for some gastronomic transgressions, the influential leaders of orthodoxy, they have fallen back into those evils and trumpery practices against which their lips declaim; and cast on their successors the very trammels which had so much hampered their own movements before.

From my own knowledge of the domestic and social economy of the Hindus, I am able to say that two of the most powerful obstacles to any attempts at enterprise or reform on their part, are female ignorance and early marriage. On a previous occasion, I tried to explain from known and acknowledged physiological principles, as to how this latter custom, repeated through several generations, has contributed to degrade us both as physical and intellectual beings; and how, unless it were abolished, there was little chance of a proper and thorough

regeneration ever being achieved. But the evil operates in other ways than those which come within the cognizance of mere physiological laws. At that important stage of his career, when, the academic course being run, an inquisitive mind is naturally led to review its past attainments, and form plans and designs for the future, the Hindu youth finds himself encumbered with the support of a wife and a couple of children, —has, perhaps, a daughter grown up to the marriageable age of 9 or 10, and stands in urgent need of 1,000 or 1,500 Rs. at least, to defray the wedding expenses. Without yet a position in the world, in many cases without even prospects or patrons, it is no wonder that he is soon and effectually crushed under the weight of such pressing wants. Thenceforth, in the vortex of family anxieties and cares, the attainment of money becomes his only end, and with a sigh he bids adieu to the hopeful visions of his college days. Female ignorance, at the same time, stands in the way of any bold or enterprising attempt on his part to deviate from the beaten track, and the influence of an affectionate mother or a beloved wife holds him fast to orthodox practices and modes of life. Indeed, in the domestic society of his female relations, there is little chance of acclimatization in his mind of sentiments acquired at school; and, hence, like some exotic growth, they wither and droop as soon as removed from the sphere of influences under which they had been produced. It was very justly observed by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, when, after quelling an insurrection that disturbed the commencement of his reign, he set himself to correct the abuses of the administration, that “in vain will the government make generous efforts, in vain will it exhaust itself in sacrifices, if the domestic education of the people does not second its views and intentions, if it does not pour into the heart the germs of virtue.” Nowhere, perhaps, is this truth more strikingly illustrated than in India, where the effects of an enlightened and liberal system of public instruction are being continually neutralised by the absence of sound moral training at home; and female ignorance, like some great centripetal force, retains even well-educated men within the prescribed sphere of antiquated customs and superstitious rites. Nor is there any prospect of things being materially bettered or improved, while the minds of the fair, whose spell must ever exercise a potent influence over the sterner sex, are suffered to remain the destined receptacles of old prejudices and traditional errors. The youth may imbibe the best and soundest views and principles at school; but of what avail can they be, while, like so much vapour, they merely hover in the atmosphere of the mind? Dazzle, perhaps, they may at times, as though

by corruscations of electric fire; but can never be of any real or substantial use and advantage, until, condensed by a genial temperature at home, they descend in fertilising showers to bless and spread plenty over the land. Yet to remove the obstacles to this most-wished-for consummation, the youth must prepare by giving a better education to himself. At present, after the first fervor of youthful enthusiasm is over, he is too apt, from whatever causes, to give up and grow indifferent about all sorts of intellectual occupations and pursuits; and hence, however in theory he may be convinced that female ignorance is an evil, he is at little pains to educate his sister and his wife, as, in his daily intercourse with them, he has seldom occasion to be cognizant of, or inconvenienced by, the uncultured state of their minds. Nor is it likely, declaim as much as he may, that he will set himself in earnest to enlighten their understanding, and thereby clear the social atmosphere of those fogs and noxious vapours which have hitherto repressed the growth of a luxuriant harvest of reform, until, being sufficiently intellectual and elevated in his own habits and pursuits, he *feels* the want of intelligent and educated companions at home. Forsooth, to develope, in any way, the practical utility of the discipline he receives at school, it is indispensable that he should learn to sustain habits of mental activity through life, and turn those thoughts and sentiments, which now, like some fine suit of clothes, he reserves only for occasions of display, into part, as it were, of the ordinary appurtenances of the understanding for regular and daily use. In default of this, generation after generation may continue to move in a vicious circle, but can make no real advance. And verily, it is to prevent an unfelicitous issue like this, and foster and cherish habits of continued mental activity, that our worthy and respected President, who has devoted the best energies of his life to the culture and enlightenment of the Hindu mind, and than whom, perhaps, there is not in all India, a better judge of its exact requirements and wants,—has been led to develope a new scheme in connection with this Society, by which to turn it into an organ of higher instruction than what may be imparted in colleges or schools. Availing ourselves of this, let us heartily and zealously co-operate to promote its ends, and shew for once, at least, that we are able to take part in a really useful undertaking, and rise from words to actual deeds. Indeed, my friends, India at this moment is the scene of a great social experiment before the whole civilized world. It presents the spectacle of a nation, variously chequered in its fortunes from the earliest periods of history, but which now, after ages of mental lethargy and stupor, is springing

forth again into fresh vitality and life ; and it depends on us and our exertions—as to whether it will attain to the full energy and activity of a vigorous and independent manhood, or remain for ever tied to the apron strings of its foster nurse ? —whether it will rise to assert its rights and prerogatives as a member of the great fraternity of modern civilization, or continue for ever yoked to antiquated puerilities and absurd and drivelling rites ?—and whether the lamp of knowledge, which England has lighted in its long benighted home, is only to glimmer faintly in the midst of a thick mass of surrounding darkness, or gradually expand itself into a resplendent blaze to illuminate and vivify the whole length and breadth of the land ? With results, then, so important and precious at stake, and acting in a theatre in which all nations and all ages must sit in judgment over our deeds, let us beware as to how we acquit ourselves. Let it not, at all events, be said hereafter that we were unequal to the parts we were destined to act. Unmindful of the dictates of narrow bigotry and priestly cunning, let us listen only to the voice of an enlightened conscience, and manfully abide by the duties we owe to ourselves, our posterity, and our country, and, perhaps, to the world at large. And with all our strength and all our might, let us strive and exert ourselves to shew—that England's endeavours to reclaim and renovate India have not been in vain ;—that the seeds of cultivation she has scattered over it, have not been wasted on an unworthy soil ;—and that the Hindu mind, when properly cultured and manured, is capable of producing harvests, from which nutriment may be derived even by distant ages and distant climes !



THE LANDED TENURE IN BENGAL,

BY

BABU NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.

We have been told by authors that the right to property in land is derived originally from the labour bestowed on its cultivation. Yet when from mere speculations we descend to a survey of actual facts, we find the proprietary right to the soil, in almost every part of the world, either claimed and usurped by the ruling power, or vested in persons deriving their titles from it; and the actual cultivator only holding of the proprietor under stipulations of certain stated returns being made to him in service, money, or kind. How such a state of things has operated on the destinies and prospects of the great mass of mankind, will appear in course of the ensuing remarks.

The Zemindari tenure of Bengal, as instituted by Lord Cornwallis, has often been condemned as being at the root of most of the evils under which the country groans. But the question presents itself for examination,—as to whether it is tainted by some inherent and radical vice which gives it an inevitable tendency to the diffusion of wretchedness and suffering? or may it not, by means of wise and judicious reforms, be rendered conducive to the comfort and well being of the vast rural population living under it?

With a view to a satisfactory solution of this question, we propose (hastily, of course) to glance over the various forms of tenure which from time to time have obtained in different parts of the world; and comparing the Zemindari system to the one which experience might show to be, on the whole, the most beneficial to the interests of society at large, observe how far it is capable of being assimilated to the same?

The distribution of land under the feudal tenure in Europe, throwing large and immense estates into the hands of a few military chieftains, reduced the cultivators to the state of mere villeins or serfs. Parcels of land were allotted to them on condition of their devoting a moiety of their labour or three days in the week for the benefit of their lord. But the powers of summary coercion lodged with the proprietors as necessary for

enforcing service rents, enabled them to exact more than the stipulated quantum of labour whenever they liked. Subject to interruptions, therefore, at the will of another, in the culture of their own allotted farms, and toiling with reluctance and under stimulus of the lash alone, in the demesnes of their lord, the serfs naturally proved to be very indifferent instruments of cultivation, and failed often even to raise the necessary supplies for themselves. On such occasions, of course, they were obliged to borrow provisions from the lord. But this served only to place them the more completely in his power, and bereave them in a still greater degree of all human motives to industry and exertion. They were reduced in short very nigh to the condition of slaves, and continue in that state over many of the eastern parts of Europe where villeinage still prevails.

The exceeding unproductiveness of the labour of serfs has suggested, in modern times, the expediency of converting them into more free and independent labourers; and various steps have been taken with a view to that effect. By the *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa—regarded as the Magna Charta of the Hungarian peasant,—his personal slavery and attachment to the soil have been abolished, and he has been declared to be a mere tenant at will. The personal freedom of the Polish peasant has in like manner been established by an edict passed during the administration of Stanislaus Augustus; and by a subsequent enactment, the exclusive right of the nobles to be proprietors of the soil, has been removed. In Austria, where change is so little relished, proposals for the abolition and commutation of service-rent have met with favour; and even in Russia, the great stronghold of villeinage, it has in many parts been replaced by a money-rent called the *obrok*.

But the human being, when debased and degraded beyond a certain extent, is not to be so readily reclaimed by mere laws and statutes. The melancholy effects of villeinage cannot be exhibited in more striking colours, than in the opposition which, in the aforesaid countries, was evinced by the serfs themselves, to measures intended for their own amelioration. To be liberated from servitude was in their estimation to be deprived of the claim for assistance which they had upon their lords when provisions failed. The efforts to rehabilitate their condition have therefore been attended with only very partial success; and notwithstanding their legal emancipation from thralldom, they continue in practice to be almost as servilely dependant on their lords as before.

Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, the labours of agriculture were, at first, mainly devolved upon slaves; but the proprietors also shared in their toils and worked by their side in

the field. When the progress of civilization, however, by opening other and more fitting careers for the active and aspiring spirits of the age, and generating a taste for luxury and elegance, had withdrawn the vigilant eye of the master from the farm, the business of cultivation could no longer with prudence be left in the hands of slaves. To supply their place various expedients were tried ; but that which seems to have answered best, was the introduction of a class of tenants, who receiving a certain stock and portion of land from the proprietor, charged themselves with the task of cultivation,—making over to him in return a certain portion (generally half) of the produce raised. Thus Pliny, in an epistle (quoted by Mr. Jones in his Essay on the Distribution of Wealth) observes,—evidently after finding other forms of contract not answer well,—that “ the only remedy I can think of is not to receive my rent in money but in kind, * * as indeed (he adds) there is no sort of revenue more just than that which is regulated by the soil, the climate, and the seasons.”

The last description of tenants, or the *mediatarii* or *metayers*, as they have been called, have also prevailed extensively over the western parts of Modern Europe,—superseding the vassals or serfs. But Arthur Young speaks of them in no very favorable terms ; and M. Destut de Tracy, treating of the *Metaires* of France, makes the following remark, “ Je connais de ces Metaires, qui de memoire d’homme n’ont jamais nourris leurs laboureurs au moyens de leur moitié de fruits.” In judging of the merits of the metayer or any other form of tenure, however, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between effects which naturally flow from it, and such as are grafted upon it, as it were, by the operation of foreign and adventitious causes. The peculiar privileges and exemptions which, previously to the Revolution, were claimed and enjoyed by the nobility in France, and which throw the whole burden of taxation upon the people, contributed, certainly, much more than the vices of his tenure, to the wretched and miserable condition of the peasant. And accordingly we find it observed by Turgot, that he was in comfortable circumstances, and even in a fair way to accumulate a small capital for himself, while actually enjoying his share of the produce ; but that he was reduced to destitution by the gradually increasing *Taille* which had to be paid almost exclusively out of his *moitié de fruits*.

That the evils of divided interest must, in a greater or less degree, attach themselves to the metayer form of tenure, and stand in the way of great agricultural improvements, it is but natural to expect. But at the same time, one can hardly shut his eyes to the manifest advantages of the system, and which,

in particular, the cultivator must enjoy. Deriving his subsistence directly from the earth, and having to pay his landlord in kind, the metayer at all events is secured from the risks and hazards to which, the agricultural *proletaire*, and the cottier with a money-rent to pay, are not unfrequently exposed by the revolutions of commerce and the fluctuations of exchange. The gifts of nature, in his case, are never spoiled by the chances of the market. His only dread lies in adverse seasons: but even then he can throw himself on the proprietor, who is evidently interested in keeping him alive. The proprietor, on his part, however, need not on this account, be under constant apprehension of being burdened with the maintenance of his tenants. In the direct and immediate interest given to the cultivator in the fruits of his labour, society has a sort of guarantee against the frequent occurrence of agricultural distress,—so far at least as matters may be helped by human means. It helps also to generate those habits of providence and foresight in the former, which, except under unusually adverse circumstances, will serve to secure him from absolute destitution or want.

In Tuscany, where the tenure under notice has been generally prevalent under the *livellari*, but where its effects have not, as in France, been thwarted by any kind of exclusive privileges or distinctions,—so happily has it operated on the condition of the peasantry, that, in noticing it, M. de Sismondi makes this truly gratifying remark;—"C'est un modèle digne d'étude, c'est un doux tableau de variété, d'abondance, et de paix, sur lequel il y a du plaisir à reposer les yeux."

The commutation of produce into money-rent, has by many been considered to be a step in advance. The example of Ireland, at all events, gives no countenance to such a view of the case. In judging of the state of the old Irish peasantry, however, represented by every account to be the very embodiment of wretchedness and want, it is necessary to make allowance for the exceedingly faulty distribution made of their country's soil. After its conquest by Henry II. of England, nearly the entire island was by that monarch divided amongst only *ten* of his favorite partizans! And his example—if we except, perhaps, the disposal by James I. of certain counties in the province of Ulster, which reverted to him by the revolt of Tyrone;—has almost uniformly been followed by his successors, whenever forfeiture or failure of issue presented opportunities and the means. No wonder then, that property being thus concentrated in the hands of a few, the proprietors have been enabled to impose their own terms on their tenants, and rent has risen to monopoly rates; and that a numerous and increasing peasantry have been obliged by immediate and pressing want to bid

against one another, reckless about means and future results,—and reduced, at length, by the ever unrequited claims of the landlord, to abject and helpless despair.

But independently even of this, the cottier system under which the tenant has a money-rent to pay, and is without any enduring interest in the soil he tills, must be attended with other and serious disadvantages of its own. It is not enough for the cultivator under this arrangement that his fields have smiled with a plenteous harvest. His landlord's share must be taken to the market, and converted into specie. By such a process, however, he is not only subjected to great inconvenience and loss of time,—often of serious import to one in a situation like his ;—but is exposed, besides, to risks and uncertainties by which the very bounties of nature may be made to tell against him. When harvest fails, he is, of course, completely undone. Then the proprietor of a cottier domain, having little to interest him in common with his tenant, feels not much concerned about him or his works. If his demand for rent is satisfied, he cares for little else. Seldom he thinks of troubling himself with agricultural details, or occupying his head with manures or modes of tillage. To augment his revenue, he only tries to secure to himself as large a share of the actual produce as he possibly can. The cultivator, on the other hand, either removable at pleasure, or holding on a lease of brief duration at the best, has no inducement to introduce changes or reforms which may shortly be turned against himself. He tries to make the best of the soil as it is, and cares not though he leaves it exhausted at the expiration of his lease. Indeed, at such times, it is commonly to his interest not to make matters put on a prosperous appearance, such as may authorize any augmentation of rent. Improvements, therefore, are thought of on neither side : a struggle only is maintained in respect of the division of whatever under existing circumstances can be produced. And, of course, as the more necessitous party, and less able to abide his own time and terms, the tenant, at each renewal of the contest, has commonly the worse of the bargain, and is compelled to make some fresh sacrifice on his part.

The cottier tenant, or whoever holds on a like precarious tenure, may have yet graver hardships to endure. Whole villages may be demolished, and thousands of families may be expelled from their hearths and homes, to suit the convenience or gratify the caprices of a single proprietor. Occurrences of this kind have not been rare in the British Isles. For illustration's sake we shall only refer to the *clearing of the Sutherland estate*. The clans, inhabiting the northern parts of Scotland,

held, primarily, by a species of military tenure, the allotments of ground from which they derived their means of living. The landlord was also their military head. Him they followed with enthusiasm, and ever at his bidding they took up the sword. But the rent they paid for their holdings was small. The Countess of Sutherland was a most considerable proprietress; but according to the customary rates of the country, derived only a slender income from her domains. For the simple habits of her ancestors, it had sufficed. But then came acquaintance with London life, and with it a desire for finery and elegance. A larger revenue was required, but could not be raised from the existing tenants. It was resolved, therefore, at once to clear the estate of them, and convert the whole into pasture ground. And, accordingly, between the years 1811 and 1820, thousands of families were chased away from their native homes, even with the assistance of armed men, in order that the great countess herself might be enabled to appear with suitable splendour in the glittering saloons of fashion! The law gave these unhappy persons no title to the soil on which, for centuries and generations, they had lived and fed.

In England, the intervention of what are called the gentlemen-farmers has introduced a system of cultivation, the merits of which have been very highly extolled. These men, it has been said, undertaking to farm on a large and extended scale, and being possessed of wealth and intelligence, must conduct the operations of agriculture, under all those advantages which co-operation, capital, and skill, can secure. As helping production, therefore, their usefulness and value are not to be denied. But a more important question certainly is—as to whether they have helped in an equal degree, or even at all, to diffuse comfort and well-being among the agricultural classes? Whether, in fact, the cultivator has gained any thing by his transition from the state of a tenant, deriving his subsistence from the earth direct, to that of a labourer depending for it on wages receivable from a master by whom his services may be engaged?

Now all improvements which may be effected in agriculture, must have a tendency to economise human labour. They may, in fact, be resolved in a great measure to producing a given quantum with a smaller number of hands. The ratio which, in every community, the agricultural classes bear to the entire mass of population, has been generally estimated at from two-thirds to three-fourths of the whole. But so highly have the productive capabilities of England been developed under the auspices of her gentlemen farmers, that less than a third of the inhabitants have been found sufficient for all the purposes of

cultivation. What, however, has become of those multitudes of men who previously used to extract their subsistence from the soil, but whom superior culture has rendered superfluous as agricultural labourers? Of course they have left the country, and sought for work in towns. But have they been always needed there? Has even the manufacturing industry of England—extraordinary and unprecedented as its development has been within the last fifty years,—been able to furnish employment to them all? An emphatic negative must be returned for reply. Vast numbers have thus been cast loose upon the world; and pauperism to an alarming extent has prevailed. More than a tenth of the entire nation is said to consist of absolute paupers; and their ranks are thickening fast. With whatever admiration, therefore, we may be disposed to contemplate the triumphs of productive efficiency and skill in the agricultural system under notice, we find but little cause for congratulation when turning to survey its actual effects upon the destinies of the *million*. The end has been sacrificed to the means; and produce increased at the expense of the labouring poor. Truly did Johnston remark in his *England as it is*, that “in the acquisition of wealth, the nation has made great progress, but in that distribution of it which seems best calculated to impart moderate comfort on the one hand, and to abate the pomp of superior position and the insolence of riches on the other, the science of modern times is at fault, while the selfishness connected with it revels, for the present, in unabated triumph.”

The French Revolution, by breaking down the feudal arrangements of property, led the way for that most important social experiment—the division of land into small holdings, and endowing the cultivators themselves with the ownership thereof. The example has not been lost upon the other nations of Europe. Switzerland, Prussia, Flanders, Norway, and parts of Italy and Germany, have since been covered as well with peasant proprietors; and the results every where have been of the most cheering description. To satisfy one’s self on this head, it is necessary only to refer to the elaborate volumes of Mr. Kay on the *Social Condition, &c. of the People*; as from the striking comparisons the author has drawn, the eye will perceive at a glance how far, in the aforesaid countries,—not merely in point of comfort, but in intelligence and social position likewise,—husbandmen with holdings of their own, are above those degraded and miserable beings who held—or still continue to hold under the old regime of short and uncertain tenures. “It is impossible (says Alison) to travel through Switzerland, the Tyrol, Norway, Sweden, Biscay, and some other parts of

Europe, where the peasantry are proprietors of the land they cultivate, without being convinced of the great effect of such a state of things in ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, and promoting the development of those habits of comfort and those artificial wants which form the true regulators of the principle of increase." In Switzerland, in particular, the advantages of the system have manifested themselves in a most conspicuous manner; and the air of ease and comfort which smiles round the dwellings of its peasantry, and the plenty with which their homes are blessed, have been noticed by every intelligent observer. Yet the country is known to be mountainous and barren, and subject to late frosts and inconstant weather. But the spirit of the proprietor is at work within the bosom of almost every Swiss, and has roused him to a degree of activity and exertion, vainly to be looked for in the hired labourer or the precarious tenant.

Still it has been objected to peasant proprietorships that the division of land into a great number of small estates is incompatible with a highly improved state of cultivation. Without entering into an examination of the theoretical grounds on which this objection has been based, we shall dispose of it by merely referring to the actual state of husbandry in places where peasant proprietorships have prevailed. Let us listen for a moment to that intelligent and well-informed traveller Mr. Samuel Laing. Speaking of the state of agriculture in Tuscany, he observes :—"Scotland or England can produce no one tract of land to be compared to this strath of the Arno, not to say for productiveness, because that depends upon soil and climate, which we have not of similar quality to compare, but for industry and intelligence applied to husbandry, for perfect drainage, for irrigation, for garden-like culture, for clean state of crops, for absence of all waste of land, labour, or manure, for good cultivation, in short, and the good condition of the labouring cultivator. These are points which admit of being compared between one farm and another, in the most distinct soils and climates. Our system of large farms will gain nothing in such a comparison with the husbandry of Tuscany, Flanders, or Switzerland, under a system of small farms."

Or to take an example from a different quarter of the globe : "the immense territory of China (as says Mr. Langdon) is divided into patches of a few acres each, generally owned by the occupant." And still such has been the success of cultivation in the country, that "nothing (adds the same writer) appears so strongly to have roused the wonder of the early Missionaries to China as the agricultural skill of the natives." He further says, that "there can hardly be a doubt that the

Chinese manage to get more out of an acre of ground than any other nation, the English alone excepted."

Another objection to the peasant proprietor system rests on the assumption, that excess of population will, in time, lead to such a minute subdivision of land, as to render each parcel entirely valueless and uncultivable by itself. Such threats were hurled when that corner-stone of feudality—primogeniture—was first knocked down in France. In half a century, it was said, *la grande nation* will "certainly be the greatest pauper warren in Europe, and will, along with Ireland, have the honour of furnishing hewers of wood and drawers of water, for all other countries in the world." But that half century has elapsed, and the labouring population of France, notwithstanding the increase of their numbers by a third or about 8 millions of souls, continue to fare better, at present, without even bringing an additional surface under culture, than when the denouncement was made. But we shall meet the objection in its full force. Over-population, to be sure, cannot be otherwise than an evil; but it must be so under all circumstances, and under every conceivable distribution of land. That ought, therefore, to be regarded as the best which is most likely to restrain it by means of prudential considerations. And happily the controversy here has been reduced within comparatively narrow bounds. Political economists, so widely differing in other points, have been nearly uniform in maintaining that if men can ever be induced to abstain from over-multiplying themselves, it is only when they have some present happiness to care for, and known and defined elements to calculate upon for the future, and when they have been imbued with some of those habits and tastes, and feelings, which possession of property is so apt to engender; and that reckless and improvident marriages are never more likely to be contracted, than when the majority of a nation is without any certain means of living, and obliged to trust for everything to chance. But prudential reasons may not prevail, or—as among the Chinese who, like the Hindus, desire for issue on religious grounds,—may be counteracted by the operation of other motives. Even in this last and worst view of the case, however, a minimum limit has only to be set to the subdivision of land; and we have to choose between an overgrown population, with a few—a scarcely appreciable fraction, in fact,—engrossing to themselves the entire soil of the country, and wallowing in luxury and affluence at the cost of starving millions, sunk either in absolute pauperism, or standing on the brink thereof—trusting to some uncertain and precarious means of support;—and an overgrown population, of which near three-fourths—a very decided

majority at all events,—must have a moderate competence secured to them by the possession of land, yet without furnishing any ground for cavil, since each had no more than was necessary to furnish employment to his hands. It needs no ghost to tell us which to prefer.

In the places which have fallen under notice, the sovereign, for the most part, has parted with his proprietary right to the soil; so that where the husbandman is not his own proprietor, an intermediate class of men, consisting of a landed aristocracy, has come to existence. In most of the Asiatic regions, however, the sovereign has retained this right in its entirety, and the cultivator has held of him direct. His portion has generally been paid in kind, and has always been moderate in appearance—varying from a tenth to a fifth, and seldom rising above a fourth of the gross produce. Economically, therefore, there seems nothing very objectionable in this arrangement, however the vices of the administration, and the rapacity of revenue officers and other subordinates in power, might, in practice, have reduced the peasantry to a state of indigence and debasement. But the union of the characters of sovereign and universal landlord, not only generates despotism, but a tendency in that despotism to perpetuate itself. Whoever has paid any attention to the progress of society in Europe, cannot have failed to observe how essential such a class as the barons were to the development of political freedom in its western kingdoms. The influence and authority which naturally sprung from the possession of large landed estates, enabled them not only to exercise a direct control over the powers of the crown, and shield from its encroachments the rights of the people; but very often led the crown itself to take part with the latter, to add to their privileges and raise their social status, in order to form a counterpoise to the troublesome power of the barons. And even where liberty has not yet found a home, it is impossible not to perceive how the existence of a landed aristocracy has created some regard, at least, for decency and forms, and prevented even the most despotic government of Europe from exercising what may be called the unmitigated despotism of an Eastern Monarch. The absence of any such independent class in society in most parts of Asia has reduced all to one dead level of an abject and grovelling dependence on the throne, and rendered progress and improvement nearly hopeless.

Such then are the principal varieties of tenure under which land has been held and occupied by the cultivating classes. From the survey we have taken, it may be gathered that among

the causes contributing to the misery and debasement of the agricultural population, ought to be reckoned as the most important,—1st, the depriving them of all durable interest in the soil on which their labours are employed, and 2nd, the exposing them to the hazards which must always attend the vicissitudes of commerce and exchange; and that the most desirable situation in which the cultivator—the representative of near three-fourths of the community,—can be placed, is to have made over to him in perpetuity the title to the farm from which his subsistence is derived. The tests thus brought forward, we shall now apply to the situation of the *ryot* under the Zemindaree tenure;—prefacing, however, our remarks with a slight retrospect of the revenue institutions of the country, to render intelligible the various interests connected with its soil.

Under the original constitution of Hindu society, each village was held in severalty by a body of hereditary cultivators, subject to a fixed assessment payable in kind, and varying from a tenth to a fourth of the produce. The cultivators portioned out the burden among themselves; and each community was represented by a village head called the Gram-Adikar,—answering to the Padhan of Orissa and the Lombardar of the West. The Gram-Adikár, while watching over the interests of the constituent body, collected also the revenue from individual cultivators on behalf of the crown. But beyond this he had no authority over them or their property. Over him and in subordination to the provincial governors, was a higher grade of functionaries—the Des-Adikárs—charged with the revenue administration of districts consisting of a hundred villages each. To keep registers of titles, deeds, conveyances, and sales and transfers of land, with a view to the prevention and settlement of disputes thereto relating,—was the duty of certain district and parish clerks, known under the names of Des-Lékuks and Gram-Lékuks. Upon them devolved also the function of revenue accountants for the districts or parishes to which they respectively belonged. Their offices, as well as those of the Des-Adikárs and Gram-Adikárs, were commonly hereditary; and for their services, were all paid by endowments of land.

Thus was constituted the village system of the Hindus of old—the *Bhyachara* of the North Western Provinces—under which the cultivator lived in plenty and in peace. But considerable and radical changes were introduced under the Mahomedan rule. Not only were new and arbitrary taxes imposed; but the peasant was required to pay in *money* what all along he had paid in *kind*. To raise this money,

however, was by no means an easy task for him. There are villages even now where exchange is mere barter, and is carried on without any intervention of specie. In those days of limited commercial intercourse, therefore, one can readily imagine how little gold and silver—hoarded though they might be in the hands of the rich,—must have entered into the transactions of the peasant. Yet was produce of no avail to meet the imperial demand. Any how it was necessary to convert it into specie. An opportunity was thus presented to monied men, which they failed not to seize and turn to account. Parties came forward offering to advance the money rent levied by the crown, on condition of being permitted, in turn, to raise sufficient contributions in produce from the ryots to re-imburse themselves. This concession was made of course; and thus a knot of speculators, under the euphonious titles of *Zemindars* and *Talukdars*, came to be interposed between the sovereign and the holders and owners of land. Villages and districts were farmed out to them; and to expedite collection, they were armed with considerable powers of a summary kind. It could not be long, however, ere such powers began to be abused in the hands of men, who had amassing of money as the only end in view. And, indeed, as the government itself often levied arbitrary assessments upon the *Zemindars* and farmers of revenue, it afforded them a fair pretext to indemnify themselves by extortions from the ryots. The demands upon the latter went on, accordingly, multiplying without end; and distrains, evictions, and summary oustings, became frequently their lot. Under such circumstances, as a matter of course, the interests connected with land became unsettled and ill-defined; the ryot retained no more than a nominal title to the soil; and a parcel of revenue contractors became substantially the proprietors thereof. And notwithstanding the efforts of Akbar to restore matters, as far as possible, to a state of pristine integrity, lapse of time only appears to have brought additional oppression and hardship to the ryots. Under the later Nabobs, so fearfully disorganised became the state of government, that all order was at an end; there was no law but what the strong hand might impose; and the collection of revenue was only another name for a regular system of usurpation and rapine,—officers of every grade being engaged in the delectable task of plundering all within their range, though the inferiors were often obliged to surrender their spoils to those in authority and power over them.

Such being the state of things when the country passed into the hands of its present rulers, the necessity of a revenue re-

form was not long in being perceived. But the novelty of the business, combined with the absence of local knowledge on the part of the authorities, presented heavy obstacles in the way of any thing being attempted in practice for a number of years. Meantime, (as writes Mr. Auber) "the collections violently kept up to their former standard added to the distress of the country, and threatened a general decay of the revenue, unless immediate remedies were applied to prevent it." In the opinion of Mr. Hastings, "the farming system, for a course of years subjected to proper checks and regulations, seemed the most likely to afford relief to the country." The Court of Directors also noticed it with approval. Lands, accordingly, were farmed out for five years under the inspection of a committee of circuit; and to secure the ryots from any undue exactions on the part of the farmer, the latter was prevented from receiving more than the stipulated rent, on pain of being obliged not only to return the excess to the ryot on conviction, but pay an equal sum by way of fine to the *Sircar*; and in case of repetition of the offence, of having his lease annulled. But notwithstanding these precautions, the expected relief was not forthcoming when the five years had expired. Nevertheless, when the question of a new settlement came before the council, Mr. Hastings clung to his own favourite scheme, and no more was done than to farm out the lands for another year. It deserves to be noted, however, that Sir Philip Francis put on record, on this occasion, the just and truly statesmanlike sentiment "that a *permanent fixed tribute* ought to be determined, instead of acting upon the principle of raising the greatest possible revenue from the country."

The annual system of farming with increase of assessment was continued for some years following. But arrears of rent and defalcations, with oppression of the ryots, frequent distraintment of property, and seizures of estates, were the results. The complaints and grievances of the lauded interest even reached the ears of Parliament; and an Act was passed requiring the Court of Directors forthwith to take the matter into their serious consideration, and to settle and establish "upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which their [the landholders'] respective tributes, rents, and services, shall be in future rendered and paid." The Court accordingly issued instructions to the local authorities to institute enquiries into the rights and privileges which the Zemindars and other landholders had enjoyed under former governments, with a view to some permanent settlement of the revenue on a fair and reasonable basis. The retirement of the Mysore prince to his capital af-

forded leisure to Lord Cornwallis—then at the helm of administration—to attend to the injunction of the Court, and take up the question of a new *bundobust* in earnest. But sufficient data were far from being collected for so important an act. The leaning shewn by the Directors towards the Zemindari class, seconded, perhaps, by his own natural prejudices in favour of an aristocratic order, led him to fix upon that body as the fittest with whom a permanent arrangement ought to be made; and the amount of *jumma* on each estate was determined merely by the average obtained from the rental of a few preceding years. At first, however, only a decennial settlement was made; but the proposals of the Governor-General to render its terms perpetual, having met with the sanction and approval of the Court of Directors, on the 22nd of May, 1793, the PERMANENT SETTLEMENT was declared.

By this settlement, then, Government parted with its proprietary title to the soil, and limited its claim to an unalterable tribute rent. We have alluded already to the pernicious tendencies of the union of sovereignty with universal ownership of land,—the uniform degradation of every class of society under such an arrangement. In the opinion of Lord Cornwallis himself “nothing could be so ruinous to the public interest, as that the land should be retained as the property of Government.” For having contributed, therefore, by his vigorous exertions, to its transference to other hands, his Lordship ought certainly to be hailed as a benefactor to the country. But then comes the question—to whom was the transfer made? The Zemindars, we have seen, were originally only a band of speculators, who in consequence of the commutation of the produce into money rent, managed to interpose themselves between the public treasury and the actual payers of rent, without any vested interest of their own in the soil, and deriving their whole claims and pretensions from that general confusion of rights and titles which resulted from the abuses and weaknesses of the Mahomedan government. Yet in these men was Lord Cornwallis pleased to vest the hereditary ownership of land, ignoring entirely the husbandman and his claims. Viewed in reference to the ancient and original rights of all parties, therefore, or the Act of Parliament which enjoined conformity to the laws and constitution of the country, the basis of the Permanent Settlement must be pronounced to be entirely and radically wrong,—as installing the mere farmers of revenue in rights which never appertained to them before, and favouring and endowing the bare instruments of collection at the expense of the hereditary cultivators and rightful owners of the land.

But the irrevocable step has been taken. It were vain now to go further into the question of titles and of rights. We proceed, therefore, to study the Zemindari system as it is—in its actual tendencies and bearings.

Well, the Zemindars being declared the hereditary owners of the soil, the ryots, of course, were deprived of all right to it beyond what they derived from the *pottah* or lease granted by the former. But though in the long run ryots were as necessary to him as his lands were to the ryots, the Zemindar in the first instance was naturally tempted to assert the rights of a proprietor, and dictate his own terms to the ryots. The more necessitous, no doubt, were obliged to submit; but many still retaining in mind, that they had possessed an independent title of their own to the soil, demurred to his arbitrary terms and immoderate demands. Pottahs were offered, but as based on exorbitant rates, were deemed unconscionable, and refused. The refractory parties were ejected of course. They applied to law for relief, but the law could offer none. The legislature had given them no defined title to the land. Yet the sudden dislocation of existing rights could not fail to lead to frequent and troublesome litigation, in which the fortunes of the tenant and the Zemindar were alike entombed. All the time, too, the Zemindar found a difficulty in collecting his rents, and so was unable to meet the demands of the State. His estate was sold to realise the public revenue, and he was ruined. Thus the first effects of the Permanent Settlement were not only to create undue exactions upon the ryot and deprive him of all share in the profits of the land, but even to impoverish the very parties on whose behalf it was made. "It is said by some (says Sir Henry Strachey) that we created the Zemindars: it is known to all that we have destroyed most of them. They could not collect their rents as they used to do; they fell in arrear, and we sold their lands: they and their families were ruined."

But what was the remedy devised? Why, when the revenue of the State was affected—as it could not fail to be—under the frequent confusions which ensued, "the legislature (even to quote the words of a Governor-General of India, the late Marquis of Hastings) contented itself with arming those who were under engagements with the Government with additional powers, so as to enable them to realise their demands in the first instance, *whether right or wrong*." Such procedure, of course, cleared the ground for a full harvest of oppression and evil: it left the ryot entirely at the mercy of his Zemindar, and made his situation miserable in the extreme.

Yet so sagacious a writer as M. de Sismondi, has been betrayed into the remark that "la condition de ryot n'est point malheureuse, plusieurs des paysans de l'Europe pourraient lui porter envie." Now if this were true, and the situation of the Indian ryot were enviable when compared to that of many of the peasantries of Europe; one, in vain, would strain his imagination to conceive what their actual condition is. But the truth is that whoever in the absence of a practical acquaintance with the subject tries to form an estimate of the state and position of the ryots, merely by glancing over the Revenue Code, will, in general, be led into the belief of their being a great deal more favourably circumstanced than is in reality the case. That Code, though making their rights dependant on the Zemindar's pottalis, entitles them—(by far the greatest majority of them, at all events, the *khudkasht* or *chupper bund* ryots,) to have such pottalis renewed at the established rates upon application, and to remain in possession 'as long as they continue to pay the stipulated rent.' They would seem, therefore, to be not only far above the serfs, but considerably better off than the cottier or *prolétaire*, as not removable at the will of another, or liable to new encroachments at the expiration of a short and temporary lease. Their situation, in fact, would appear to make a near approach to the desirable one of a peasant proprietor, subject to a fixed tribute rent. And now that the original grounds of dispute as to *rates* must have been removed—the rates themselves being in the course of a few years settled and defined,—every thing must conspire to secure peace and comfort to the ryot. On turning round, however, will one find any of those anticipations realised, in which the situation of the ryot as depicted above, will naturally lead him to indulge? Or will he not, on the contrary, meet only with a debased and pauperised being, almost as low as the serf, and quite as destitute as the cottier—half-starved and in tatters? Yet why so? Why has the peasant of Bengal, with nearly the same possessory title to his farm, failed to derive that plenty from his rich and fertile plains, which the Swiss has compelled even his rocky and mountainous soil to yield? Why in spite of so many natural advantages is he sunk in the lowest pit of wretchedness and want? To this enquiry then we next proceed.

Now, though from an early period of the British administration—even from the time of Warren Hastings, as we have seen,—attempts have been made to put a stop to undue exactions from the ryot, yet to this day, we are sure, he will have much reason to thank his stars, if the *nirikbund* rent, i. e. rent accord-

ing to the established rates of the *pergunnah*, and to which alone the Zemindar is entitled by law, were all he had to pay. The fact is, that notwithstanding all enactments to the contrary, various irregular contributions are still levied on him, and which it is not in his power to refuse. First and most important among these are what, in want of a more appropriate expression, we shall call judicial fines. Among other indignities, which it has been the lot of the ryot to endure, he has been nearly deprived of the privilege of resorting to the public tribunals of his country to seek redress against a brother ryot. The Zemindar, in fact, has arrogated to himself the right of adjudicating all cases between his tenants. Whenever information reaches him, therefore, of any one having had the temerity to apply to the civil or criminal authorities of the district, anon the mandate goes to the entire village not to appear in evidence on his behalf; and woe to him who dares disobey the Zemindar's injunctions! The complainant is ordered to sign an immediate *rajeenamah* before the court, and transfer the case to his own *cutchery* for decision. The proceedings commence, of course, with levying a fine on the party who had the effrontery to transgress the Zemindar's sacred prerogative of administering justice to his ryots, by preferring his complaint before a different tribunal; and while the matter in dispute is under investigation, the *gomashitahs* are frequently instructed to enquire as to which of the two—the complainant or defendant—has the longer purse, in order that the verdict may be given against him from whom the largest sum may be extracted by way of fine! Frequently fault is found on either side; and fines, levied on both.

The above will serve to convey some idea of the delectable principles according to which trials are conducted and judgments given, in cases—numerous and frequent, too, such cases are—in which the Zemindar is the prosecutor himself. On this head, therefore, it would be needless to enlarge.

Several other illegal exactions are likewise made on the slightest pretext for the purpose presenting itself. The celebration of a *shrad* or marriage, a tour through the Zemindari, an interview solicited by a ryot, are the commonest occasions in which these demands are enforced; and which under the various names of *Magná*, *Jachna*, *Parbuni*, *Salami*, *Nuzzur*, &c. &c., are familiarly known as so many forms of *Bajé Abah* to whoever has the slightest insight into Zemindari management and concerns. Often no tank can be excavated, even where the scarcity of water is most severely and pressingly felt, without laying a goodly *Salami* at the zemindar's feet; nor even the fruits of a tree enjoyed in peace, without letting

his myrmidons have the *Chout* ! And to such extent have the *Bajé Abobs* come to be regarded in the light of ' matters of course,' as seldom to be lost sight of in the valuation of a Zemindari in effecting purchases and sales. The forced and irregular collections constitute, in fact, as important and as recognised a source of Zemindari profits as the authorized and regular ones.

But should the Zemindar be at the same time an Indigo Planter as well, then woe upon woe to the ryot ! Not only are all the best lands within his jurisdiction appropriated to indigo culture and plantation, but the ryot is compelled to neglect his rice-fields and pressed into the service of the Zemindar at his own dictation and terms. So heavily has this oppression been felt, that in a neighbouring *Mehal*, some ten or twelve years ago, the ryots agreed to inflict a voluntary tax upon themselves, in case the Zemindar would give up his indigo concern. The Zemindar assenting, a yearly assessment of a rupee and a half was fixed on every plough at work within the estate, and the aggregate profit from this source amounts—we are told—to about Rs. 2,500 per annum. It deserves to be stated in this place that an Indigo Planter is always a troublesome neighbour to the ryots, even though he may not be the Zemindar himself.

But keeping even all this out of view, the very rents to be paid by the ryots are far from being clearly settled and defined. The law, it is true, furnishes a criterion in the *nirik* or ' the established rates of the Pergunnah,' beyond which it does not permit the Zemindar to exact. But the *nirik* varies according to the ' quality and description' of land ; and considerable difficulty is experienced in practice in determining to which ' quality and description' any particular parcel of land is to be referred. Availing themselves, therefore, of this absence of a certain and definitive standard, the Zemindars have been enabled to effect considerable augmentations in the rates of rent since the Permanent Settlement has been proclaimed. As often, indeed, as a Zemindari changes hands, attempts are made to increase the rental by so much per rupee ; and though some opposition is shewn at first by the heads of the village,—they are so worried and harassed, as in the majority of instances, to be obliged, at length, to submit. And when once a precedent is established, the Zemindar is never idle in turning it to account against the rest of the ryots. Thus the *nirik* itself is raised ; and by the new standard, all in future are obliged to abide. The Zemindar, in fact, by mere dint of oppression, has succeeded in twisting even the law to his side.

The question will naturally be suggested to every mind, however, as to why the ryot submits to the Zemindar's arbitrary demands? Simply because if opposition is evinced, he has no alternative left but to be utterly ruined and undone. "Under the existing regulations, a person to whom arrears of rent are due, is authorised to proceed against the defaulter, either by distraint of his property or attachment of his person; and he may exercise the option allowed him in such mode as he may conceive most convenient to himself."* In case, therefore, any among the ryots shall have the audacity to oppose his demands or refuse compliance with his requisitions, the Zemindar has only to reduce him to beggary by plundering his property, under colour of distraint, for alleged arrears of rent, and this may be done in course of an hour, without the slightest notice being given to the ryot, merely by putting a few rupees in the pockets of the sale-ameen,—or subject him to all the inconveniences of a sudden arrest, and removal from where his presence may be most required;—according as one way or the other his own views may be answered best. The ryot may do thereafter what he may: the Zemindar knows too well that a few repetitions of the aforesaid processes can never fail to bring him round at the end. Even such as have the courage to favour in any way the refractory ryot, are made to taste a little of the wholesome discipline by way of example to the rest; and thus a general awe is spread, and few dare dispute in any way the Zemindar's claims, however arbitrary they may be. It is worthy of note that the abuses referred to are often committed under a mask, some fictitious under-farmer being set up ostensibly to do the dirty work.

Yet summary as are the powers with which the legislature has entrusted the Zemindar for expediting the collection of rents, these serve only as terrors suspended over the heads of the ryots, or occasionally to give a breaking to the more obstinate and refractory spirits. For every day use, i. e., for collection of ordinary arrears of rent, and even the common forms of *bajé-abob*, a still more summary method has been devised; and the ryot has been subjected to personal violence of different kinds and degrees, as the readiest way of helping him to disburden his purse. Imprisonment and castigation with the shoe are the commonest forms, and for current purposes, have been found to answer sufficiently well. The more violent and refined forms of torture are put in requisition, therefore, only on extraordinary occasions, and in dealing with parties who have rendered themselves particularly obnoxious by resistance

* The discourse was originally written in 1857.

and opposition. It is but just to add that their practice is not countenanced by all ; the humanising influence of English education having, at all events, rendered those resident in town, for the most part, repugnant to their use.

But still the question recurs—has the ryot no remedy for all this ? Yes, but a remedy more dangerous than the evil it is meant to cure. Previously to the year 1793, there existed no regular code of laws or regulations for the country ; and the rules and orders passed, either remaining in manuscript, or printed only on detached sheets of paper, were difficult of reference both by the Officers of Government and the people. And though Lord Cornwallis supplied the people at length with such a code, with the laudable view of enabling them “to render themselves acquainted with the laws, upon which the security of the many inestimable privileges and immunities granted to them by the British Government depends ; and the mode of obtaining speedy redress against every infringement of them ;”—separating at the same time, the judicial from the fiscal branch of the administration, in order that justice might be more efficiently dispensed, and Government divested “of the power of infringing in its executive capacity, the rights and privileges, which as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders :”—yet herein too, as in the Permanent Settlement itself, beneficent principle and generous intention were spoiled by vices of execution and errors of detail. A most inadequate estimate was formed of the judicial wants of the people, and the Courts created under the new *regime* were fettered down to a system of intricate procedure—loaded with minutiae of technicalities and forms—which rendered it necessary for the Judges to travel a long way even for deciding a single case. Hence it came to pass that they were soon overwhelmed with an amount of business—and arrears accumulated—which it was impossible for them ever to get through. No doubt, the Permanent Settlement, by disturbing existing usages and rights, and the chaotic state of the Regulations before, contributed very materially to swell the lists. But instead of the evil being traced to its proper source, all in a lump was ascribed to the litigious disposition of the natives ; and as a sovereign panacea to cure them of the malady, justice was rendered difficult of access, and a tax levied on every stage of a judicial proceeding with the avowed object of diminishing the number of applicants for redress ! In the forcible language of Mr. Mill, “Government enacted that every man who applied for justice should be punished, literally punished, as if the application for justice was a crime.” Comment on such a procedure would

be quite a supererogation. We shall simply observe, therefore, that absurd and preposterous as it was, no change for the better has been effected up to the present day.

In the department of criminal justice, the defects and insufficiencies of Lord Cornwallis's scheme of reform appeared, if possible, more glaringly still. For a magistrate with a jurisdiction over a hundred miles by fifty, and necessarily incapable of maintaining a vigilant control over the officers below; these officers with a miserable stipend insufficient even for preserving indispensable appearance, but armed with considerable powers of annoyance, and capable at any time of subjecting an individual to the serious inconvenience of being forwarded before the magistrate from some dozens or scores of miles; and village watchmen consisting of the very dregs of society, and often in league with dacoits and robbers;—contributed together not only to make the criminal judiciary establishment wholly useless for the purposes of security and peace, but to render it a positive evil in itself, held in dread by the people almost as much as the dacoits themselves.

Some improvements, no doubt, have since been made. The inadequacy of Lord Cornwallis's judicial machinery was the unavoidable result of his having almost entirely excluded native agency from the administration of the laws. This was perceived by Lord William Bentinck—gratefully will the name be remembered by every native!—when placed at the head of affairs. He saw how hopeless was the attempt to dispense justice to millions through the instrumentality of a handful of European functionaries alone,—necessarily restricted in numbers by the high scale of remuneration at which their services were engaged. He entrusted, therefore, the primary adjudication of civil suits to the natives of the country; and justly deeming it a wasteful expenditure of agency to assign to European officers the lower grades of judicial function, confined them to the exercise of appellate jurisdiction, and a mere general superintendence over the native functionaries, placed below. The successors of Lord William have in the main followed up the course in which he so happily led the way; and since his time, that exceedingly useful class of officers, the Deputy Magistrates, have been added to the judicial list. But though the right principle has been laid down and recognised, it has only as yet been partially acted upon in practice. The number of judicial officers, especially in the criminal department,* is far too inconsiderable still,

* A considerable addition has since been made to the number of Deputy Magistrates in Bengal.

and utterly disproportioned to the wants of the country; and the consequence has been, that, except here and there in some populous villages, matters, for the most part, continue substantially the same as before.

If then a ryot would seek redress at law against the oppressive exactions of the Zemindar, or the still more oppressive practices by which the same are enforced, he can only have it on condition of his being able to pay a certain sum at the outset, and sundry other sums during the progress of the suit in shape of a judicial tax, besides engaging the services of a vakeel,—the technical method of *proceduro* rendering it impossible for him to conduct his case in person. And this, too, while he has been dispossessed of his farm, or plundered of his little property for pretended arrears of rent. He must be prepared, at the same time, to neglect his usual avocations for weeks and months, and maintain himself and his family the while by means of some previously accumulated fund. And all these not merely for once, but successively for a number of times, inasmuch as he is sure to be dragged through a series of appeals in case the first verdict happens to be pronounced in his favour. Now, it may be readily imagined, how seldom men, literally living from hand to mouth, and depending for subsistence on their daily labor, can afford to obtain relief on such heavy terms! And since they cannot, the law has pronounced them to be *pariahs* who must not approach within the sacred precincts of the temple of justice. It was a sad blunder in legislation to suppose that rendering justice expensive, and thereby difficult of access, was the way to prevent litigation. The truly litigious are always prepared to bear the costs of a protracted suit, and delight in the difficulties and obstacles thrown in the way of speedy redress of wrongs; as it is by their means alone that the intended victim can be crushed. The weak and helpless are the only ones to suffer thereby. It is the assurance, accordingly, on the part of the Zemindars, that tardy and expensive justice has placed legal redress beyond the reach of the ryots, that emboldens them to do with them as they like, and practise all the extortions and oppressions to which reference has been made. Instead of looking upon the law as the avenger of injured rights, they avail themselves of it as a powerful engine, by the help of which the more effectually to promote their own wicked ends and designs. The ryot, on the other hand, dreads it as a mighty evil: he regards it only in the light of a formidable weapon of offence, whose stroke, of all things, he is the most anxious to avoid. Too well he knows that once in the

meshes of the law, it is not in his power to get out again. Wisely, in his situation, therefore, he makes up his mind contentedly and resignedly "rather to bear the ills he has, than fly to others he knows not of."

Then as to engaging in a criminal prosecution some scores of miles away from home,—leaving the plough in the furrough, and the fields to the jackals, during a lengthened interval, and until the overburdened *Huzur* may have time to take up and try the case;—what more needs be said about it, when it is universally known that the very threat to bind over a party before the magistrate, either as principal or witness, enables the *Darogah* to extort even from the most parsimonious, a liberal and handsome bribe! Truly did Sir Henry Strachey observe "the ryot must have speedy justice, or none."

We have said nothing hitherto of the various classes of middlemen frequently intervening between the Zemindar and the cultivating ryots; but for any of the purposes here in view, they need not detain us long. Deriving from the Zemindar the rights and powers which he himself possesses over the ryots, they in general do not modify their condition in any other way, than by serving, perhaps, as an additional turn of the screw. This may be particularly predicated of the *Ijardars* or farmers for a limited number of years, who try, as a matter of course, to make the best of their temporary interest, and squeeze the ryots as well as they can, before the lease expires. The only ones producing any material change in the position, though not much in the prospects of the ryot, consist of a class of under-proprietors, known by the name *Gatidars* in the technical phraseology of the Zemindari code. These men hold various allotments of land within a Zemindari on permanent leases—at all events on leases which cannot be cancelled during the continuance of the Zemindar's own interest in the estate. Each again parcels out his own allotment among a number of cultivators, called *Jotedars*, on terms mostly of the *metayer* system to which we have heretofore referred. These last, therefore, must escape the risks and inconveniences which we have found to be attendant on the money-rent system. When harvest fails, they have not the Zemindar's myrmidons to dread. The *Gatidar* must satisfy his demands. Often too, he acts as a shield between the Zemindar and them in respect of *baje-abobs*. But it is seldom that they can entirely escape the same. The *Gatidar* likewise comes for some *baje-abobs* of his own. And what with the one and the other, the cultivator often finds not enough of provision left for himself and his family. By borrowing it

from his patron, he only gets the more completely into his hold, unless able to pay off the loan, with the enormous customary rate of interest at the ensuing crop, as otherwise what could not be paid in kind, must be rendered back in labour and service; and it becomes compulsory on him in consequence to cultivate the patron's lands. It is needless to say that in such cases, the scantiest pittance that can keep a man alive, is alone doled out to him; the *Gatidar* taking the remainder of the produce in satisfaction of former claims.

We may embrace this opportunity to observe that, even where *Gatidars* do not exist, the oppressive exactions of the Zemindars have very frequently driven the ryots to seek for patrons of a somewhat similar description, in a different class of men; and it may be added with exactly similar results. The ryot is detained in custody, or his property laid under distress. The Mahajun kindly undertakes to advance the money; and the offer of course is accepted with thanks. But interest runs at a compound heavy rate; and the ryot, without any addition to his means, has another claimant to satisfy. The Zemindar's exactions containing the same, however, it is seldom that he can meet the Mahajun's whole demand at once, and so get clear of him. The little he is able to pay at a time goes to satisfy the interest alone; the *ashul* or principal remaining nearly undiminished and the same. And so the unhappy ryot is doomed to see the fruits of his toil entirely wrested from him by others,—the Mahajun claiming what the Zemindar spared. Between two such mill-stones, of course, he is effectually ground to dust.

It will appear, then, on reviewing the foregoing observations, that whatever may be the rights with which the ryot has been endowed by the mere letter of the law, he, in practice, is subject to the operation of both the principles which we have found to be among the principal causes, contributing, in other parts of the world, to the pauperised and degraded condition of the agricultural classes;—that his rent is liable to be increased at the will of his landlord; and having to pay the same in money, he is at all times exposed to the hazards of exchange, and enjoys no exemption in years of failure;—that even where the intervention of middlemen has taken these risks off his head, the benefit has been nullified in other ways; and he has been left much in the situation of the French metayer previously to the Revolution;—and further, that the general prevalence of arbitrary claims and exactions on the part of landed proprietors, has driven him frequently to the tender mercies of a class of men who have served only as

a counterpart to themselves, and occasionally has even reduced him nigh unto the condition of a serf—having to render compulsory service to his lord. No wonder, if under such circumstances his actual situation is one of the most abject and miserable it were possible to conceive. Yet wretched and miserable as it is found to be, it is consolatory still to reflect that the fault lies not so much in the great scheme of the Zemindari system itself, as in the details of collection, and still more in the vicious and defective state of judicial administration; and that, in consequence, reform is possible without injury to the fundamental rights of any particular class of men. We shall try to indicate briefly a few of the leading features of the reform to be desired.

The peasant proprietor, as we have seen, is in the most desirable situation in which a cultivator can possibly be. Of course, in a country where land-tax forms the principal source of revenue of the State, it would be impossible, for the present at least, to endow the peasantry with the absolute ownership of their several allotments of land. We could heartily wish, indeed, as a measure fraught with the most important effects on the future well-being of the country,—this tax were gradually replaced by others of a less exceptionable kind; and every facility afforded to the Zemindars for redeeming, at a reasonable number of years' purchase, the fee simple of their estates. Such a step is essential, at least, to develop the full utility of Lord Cornwallis's benevolent views and intentions, in parting, on behalf of the sovereign power, with the proprietary title to the soil. So long as the whole produce of land continues, year after year, under hypothecation to Government, and the *Sudder Jumma* haunts the Zemindars by day and by night as the most dominant idea in their minds, it is simply impossible they can constitute a really important political element in the state, or answer any of the great ends contemplated in the creation of a territorial upper-class in the country. A change so fundamental, however, both in a political and financial point of view, can only be wrought by slow degrees, and must necessarily extend over a considerable period of time. Meanwhile, as regards the ryot, it may not be reckoned a peculiar hardship to hold a farm, as any other property in fact, subject to such fixed assessment as it may be necessary to levy upon it for the purposes of the State; and, accordingly, he may be vested with the freehold thereof under an invariable tribute rent, not liable to be enhanced. It would be necessary, for this purpose, on the part of the legislature to compel the Zemindars to make a similar settlement with their ryots, as Government concluded with

them in 1793. Nor is this by any means a new or unusually bold step that we recommend. Peter Leopold in Tuscany obliged the Church to alienate its lands under a fixed perpetual rent; and the celebrated Ministers Stein and Hardenberg in Prussia converted an entire population of serfs to a numerous body of small proprietors, covering the estates owned solely by a privileged class of nobility before. Indeed, the local Government itself went the same way to work when it prescribed a limit to Zemindari rents, in 'the established rates of the Pergunnah.' Only that the criterion it fixed upon, being in its nature vague, has proved to be illusory in practice. It would be no violent stretch of authority, therefore, of which the Zemindars could complain with justice or reason,—to enforce, by more stringent measures, the principle already recognized and sanctioned before; to shut up the loop-holes left in former enactments; and regulate and establish by a more definite and unmistakable standard the rental of every district and every village.

Such, then, is the principle of the reform we advocate and recommend. To effectuate it in practice, however, it will not do merely to encumber the Revenue Code with a number of additional regulations and enactments. Decided and vigorous steps must be taken to cut off from the Zemindar those *practical* opportunities of tyrannising over the ryot to which we have alluded in the course of our remarks; and place within the reach of the poorest peasant the means of, speedily and at once, redressing his wrongs.

And as of the utmost importance at the outset, a general and detailed survey of the province conducted upon scientific principles, and with a view to the preparation of village maps containing boundary outlines of holdings and estates, should be undertaken and completed. At the same time, a Commission to accompany the survey, should be empowered to decide and adjust upon the spot—the parties face to face—all existing disputes relating to boundaries, tenures, or possession of land; as also to settle the rents for every estate and every part thereof, according to the original rates current at the time of the Permanent Settlement,—putting them down, of course, where they have been violently raised up to a higher standard. And each holding or field having a number affixed to it, opposite to each number, in some tabular appendix is to be registered the holder's or proprietor's name, the amount of rent he is to pay, and the like. The task, no doubt, will require somewhat of a Herculean labour for its execution at first. But once done, matters will be considerably simplified at every subsequent

stage. A vast mass of rubbish, which so seriously impedes, at present, the workings of the judicial machinery, will be removed; and the complicated web of relations between the different classes of landed interest, disentangled and resolved. Litigation will be much reduced; and the Judge or Collector—as the case may be—instead of having to wade through a maze of contradictory, perhaps, perjured evidence, will be able to decide, with almost unerring precision, merely by referring to the survey records, on a hundred points at issue relating to rights and tenures, ownerships, and occupations. In some of the North Western Provinces, of which a survey, much like the aforesaid, has been already completed, the benefits in question are said to have been sensibly experienced and felt.

But the survey records will in course of a few years cease to be of value, unless followed up by an efficient system of registration, to record subsequent transfer, sales, or changes of ownership by inheritance, deeds of gift and the like. The system which has obtained at present, has been rendered practically of little avail, in consequence of registry not being rendered *essential* to the validity of deeds. Whereas registration should be made compulsory; and no paper admitted in evidence unless duly entered in the local Registrar's Court. "A considerable proportion of the time of the courts (says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*) is now fruitlessly occupied in doing that tediously, and with uncertainty, which registration would effect, as it were, mechanically." By means of it, therefore, much time and trouble would be saved. In a country like this, in particular, where perjured evidence can be so easily and cheaply procured, and where a number of witnesses are frequently made to swear to the truth of opposite and contradictory statements, by the litigant parties, it would be an invaluable help to judicial functionaries of every grade. To guard against the registration of fictitious deeds, however, it will be necessary to evince considerable jealousy in respect of mere *ex-parte* statements, however circumstantially corroborated they may appear to be, and ascertain through duly qualified officers, appended to each Registrar's Court, by local enquiries and upon the spot, as to whether the estate or holding purporting to be transferred or sold to such and such party, has actually and *bonâ fide* been so transferred or not?—and whether the deed put in for registration has been really executed by the party whose signature it purports to bear? The minute and elaborate system adopted in several parts of Continental Europe where peasant proprietors have prevailed,

and under which every right and interest connected with any particular holding or parcel of land, can be ascertained in course of a few minutes, and with little expense, merely by reference to the papers in the District Registrar's Court, will, no doubt, furnish us, in many very essential respects, with a most excellent model.

And lastly, to render justice accessible to all, the judicial machinery should be recast and moulded anew. Every member of a community—even the meanest and poorest—acquires a right to the protection of the laws by contributing his mite towards the support of the State. Such protection, therefore, ought not to be turned into a saleable commodity, and rendered conditional on the payment of a value in exchange—in the shape of a judicial tax. The wronged, the aggrieved, and the helpless, besides, are not the fittest subjects for taxation at all. The obnoxious stamp duty should, therefore, be abolished at once; and the intricate and technical system of procedure, now in vogue, replaced by such a summary and rational method of inquiry as will enable every man to act the lawyer for himself. Such a method followed in the Small Cause Court here, is known to have given universal satisfaction; and parties have even abandoned large excesses to bring their cases within its jurisdiction, and have them speedily brought to an issue. A tardy system of procedure, even independently of the expense, is a heavy bar in the way of most people who have other avocations to mind and attend, and compels them even to forego some just claims of theirs in consideration of the loss which neglect of regular business for a lengthened period would be certain to entail. Courts on the plan of the one named above, therefore, should be established all over the Mofussil within convenient distances of one another; and to these tribunals must the Zemindar resort for the recovery of rent as of any other dues,—the summary powers he has so egregiously abused, being, of course, wrested from his hands.* The only valid objection to leaving Zemindars to recover their rents by a regular process, rests on the ground of their being unable in that case to make the collections in time to meet the demands of the State. But this ground must fail them when

* The rights and privileges of the Zemindars have been materially affected by Act No. X. of 1859. It has taken away from them the power of compelling the attendance of ryots for adjusting claims for rent,—which perhaps of all others was the most egregiously abused. The right of distraining their property has also been defined within much narrower limits. Duly enforced, the Act cannot fail to exercise a very beneficial influence on the position and prospects of the ryots.

courts* on the plan suggested will have been established, and every case could be heard and decided in the course of a couple of weeks or so. Or if it be repugnant to the ideas of English legislators,—whose early prejudices have been enlisted on behalf of a system of jurisprudence so decidedly partial to the landed class,—to deprive the Zemindar of the prerogative of distraint, let it be left, at least, to the Judges of the newly constituted tribunals to issue processes and authorise sales for arrears of rent, only on satisfactory evidence being adduced as to such arrears being actually due; and let such sales be taken from the hands of those wretched men—the present class of Ameens—whom a few rupees will induce to suppress every notice to the victimised ryot. A considerable addition should at the same time be made to the Criminal Judicial Staff and Police; and a magistrate's jurisdiction, reduced within limits over which it can be reasonably expected of a man to exercise something like an efficient vigilance and control. A magistrate, in fact, should be a reality, and not as now, a mere name and shadow, to (the majority of) those whose peace he is intended to guard and protect.

These reforms, to be sure, will involve some considerable additional outlay and expense. But such outlay and expense ought to be cheerfully borne. The ryot represents in his person nine-tenths of the population of the country, and is the being by whom the rest of the community is nourished and maintained. No price, therefore, can be too great for his security and peace. His interests, too, are identified with some of the best interests of the country. The Zemindars, as every one knows, have paid no attention to cultivation at all; and the ryot has neither thought nor cared about improvements, knowing that the accruing advantage was not to be reaped by him. The country, in fact, has suffered from all the evils of the cottier system noticed above. But only give the ryot a firmer hold on his farm, and ensure to him the fruits of his labour, and there can be no doubt that our fields will teem and smile with richer harvests than before; and that the spirit of the proprietor, awakened within the cultivator's breast, will lead him, by minute and assiduous attention, to study the properties and better to develop the resources of every part of the soil, and introduce that garden-like culture which has been so much recommended and admired. And inasmuch as the resources of the State must depend upon—even if they are not identical with

* Courts of the kind are now in course of being established throughout the interior of the country. Worked in a proper spirit, they will surely prove a great boon to all classes of people.

—the resources of the country, humanity and interest ought alike to prompt the legislature to take the ryot under its protection, to listen to his complaints, and redress his wrongs. And, indeed, it is only by measures like these,—by securing to the people the benefits of a good revenue settlement,—by rescuing them from the grasp of those who have hitherto oppressed them and trodden them under foot,—and guaranteeing to every man that he shall not toil and sweat in vain,—that England can found her empire on the hearts and affections of the *millions* in the East.

LECTURE ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND,

BY

JOSEPH GOODEVE, Esq.,

BARRISTER.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN !

In the Courts of the ancient Athenians, there existed a practice to limit the speeches of the Advocates, to which in part has been ascribed, the terseness and conciseness of Grecian advocacy ; and which some may think, might be introduced with advantage into the legal Tribunals of more modern times.

In actions brought for ill-treatment by children against their parents, wards against their guardians, and hennesses against their husbands, there was no limit to the latitude of forensic proseyism ; as there was none to that of forensic invective. In other cases, however, the speeches were regulated by an instrument called a *clepsydra*, or water-clock. A certain quantity of water was measured out to each speaker, which ran something after the manner of sand in a modern hour-glass ; and, when the water had run out, the Orator had to come to a stand still, finished or unfinished.

To redress what was often found an inconvenient embarrassment to a pleader, overflowing with the wrongs of his client, a system of mutual accommodation was occasionally resorted to, in the loan by one Counsel to another, of a portion of his own allotted water. Still the system was never popular, either with disappointed suitors, or loquacious lawyers ; and the Court often rung with the complaint of the Advocate, that he was compelled to omit heavy charges, not because he was short of wind, but because, like a railway locomotive, he had become short of water.*

In attempting to compress, within the limited compass of an evening's lecture, a sketch, however faint, of the Laws of Eng-

* Forsyth's *Hortensius*, p. 50.

land, I feel myself in the position of the Athenian orator, who overburdened with the weight of his theme, was compelled, under the embarrassment of his relentless clock, to omit many, perhaps of his gravest, topics, and yet still struggled on to avail himself to the utmost of the little space which his ebbing water allotted to him.

It is recorded indeed of a distinguished Divine, in more modern times, that delivering his sermons extempore, he was compelled to resort to an hour-glass to check the overflowing out-pourings of his own mind, but that his insatiate audience, drinking in the stream of his eloquence with "an appetite which grew with that it fed upon," would recur to the stratagem of giving a turn to the glass, when the first hour had run out. Perhaps, on so dry a subject as law is usually considered, you would prefer in the present instance the inexorable clock of the Athenian tribunal, to the yielding and reversible glass of the modern pulpit; and fortunately for you, if so, having reduced my lecture to the limit of a written compression, mine is a glass which will not turn.

Now, as we are going to enter upon the consideration of a Nation's laws, it may be as well to have some definite idea of what Law itself is. And it has been defined to be,—"*a rule of action prescribed by the supreme power of a State, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong.*" It is that which, however much based upon the sanctions of both, still, apart from morality, apart from religion, lays down the obligations under which, as the component parts of the State, the members of a civil community must be content to live. Having defined what is right, it proceeds to the remedy of what is wrong;—and this it does, in *civil* cases by awarding restitution or compensation to the party injured;—in *criminal* ones by affixing penalties on the commission of crime, and punishment of the offender; on the principle that the punishment of crime in the person of one man, will operate to its prevention at the instance of another;—and in *both* the law carries out its will,—asserts its supremacy,—by the aid of that physical force which the State places at the disposal of its Executive Powers, in aid of the decrees of its Judicial Tribunals.

A very little reflection will tell us that the rules of action which, in the shape of law, are to govern the internal relationships of a Nation much advanced in civilization, must in themselves be of a very comprehensive character, and their range proportionate to the degree of that civilization.

In that earlier stage of society, in which people but present the simpler forms of tribes of shepherds, huntsmen, or tillers of the soil, but very simple laws are required. It is enough

that the social union achieves for each member, safety to his person,—security for the fruits of his labour,—and protection to his domestic hearth. The shepherd when he goes forth to tend his flock, the agriculturist to sow his lands, the hunter to his chase, only desire, that the tents or huts which they quit,—the few scanty articles which constitute their furniture,—their wives and their children,—should be free from aggression, and it almost suffices to enact,—“Thou shalt not kill,” “Thou shalt not steal.”

But the law is the creature of civilization, the growth of a nation's expansion.

As society passes from this pristine stage on to that more advanced one, in which the wandering life of the hunter or the shepherd, is turned to a fixed habitation;—in which cities are built, and there grows up within their walls the busy hive of a manufacturing race;—in which one man interchanges with another, for the gain of both, the products of their labour;—in which the traffic, limited at first only to the people of the soil, is extended to a commerce with foreign nations;—in which police establishments and judicial tribunals,—in which fleets and armies arise;—in which the nation assumes some form of constitutional government;—when society, I say, reaches to this point, it is obvious that the law which sufficed for its earlier growth, must prove inadequate to its more complicated wants; and that which at first was comprehended within the corner of a bare page, by degrees becomes a book;—in time volume upon volume;—and ultimately an almost countless library.

When, for example, property becomes fixed, laws must come into being to regulate the course of its disposition;—when men congregate into cities there must be regulations to control their rights of private proprietorship,—of public enjoyment. When trade assumes an importance, there must be laws addressed to buying and selling;—when it takes the more extended shape of foreign exchange, laws must be framed to regulate it. When police and judicial establishments are scattered over the land, there must be laws to define the powers of their functionaries. Fleets and armies even require laws to secure their discipline; and the very Government itself must be subservient to rule.

Let any one compare the few and scanty enactments of the twelve tables of Rome, with the epitome of her more advanced jurisprudence to be found in the Code of Theodosius, or even the Digest of Justinian,—or, to turn to England, let him contrast the compilations contained in what are called the Laws of Alfred and of Edward the Confessor, two of our early kings, or the statute book of more mediæval reigns, with those

books which are the record of our law at the present day, and he will learn how the law's bulk increases with a nation's development. One branch only of the latter, the decisions of the Judges, is collected in books called Reports. It was some time ago calculated that of these reports of ours there were in existence not fewer than 600 volumes ; and that they contained no less than 240,000 rules or principles of law. Since this calculation was made, some hundreds perhaps of the volumes, and some thousands more of the rules, have been added to the amount ; and, this is wholly independent of that vast compilation of positive enactments, which is to be found in the statutes.

Yet voluminous as English law undoubtedly is, if the Roman historian is to be credited, it can be scarcely more so than was that of the laws of ancient Rome ; for Livy tells us that so great at one time was their bulk, that they were computed to be *many camels' load*. Sulpicius, the Roman Senator, is recorded to have left behind him about a hundred and fourscore volumes of his own compilation only. The law of France assumes to have reduced itself to a Code, and foreigners imagine that the few simple volumes which make up the text of the Code Napoleon comprise the whole bulk of its law. Never was a greater misapprehension. To say nothing of hosts of new and supplemental edicts, the *interpretation* of that Code has to be sought in the decisions of the Court upon its construction, and these are to be found only in volume piled upon volume of reports, Pelcon heaped upon Ossa. It is neither the ingenuity of the lawyers or their own profit in the multiplication, which gives this vastness to the law of a civilized country ; but it is the expansion of the Nation itself.

It was said by Justinian that all law might be reduced to three principles ;—to live reputably ; to hurt nobody ; to render to every one his due. Suppose a Code with these three enactments only, I wonder how near to redress, any one would get, who had some practical grievance to complain of.

The fabulous mythologies of Greece and Rome represented Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, as not subject to the ordinary birth of infancy, but to have sprung from the opening head of her potent father, Jupiter, in the full growth, the panoply, of a perfected Goddess. Were we to assign to Law a niche in the Temple of this mythology, we should treat it rather as coming into the world an ordinary baby ;—then handed over to be dandled in the arms of that venerable Nurse whom the ancients called Saturn, and we call Time,—and not until the due period of

“ Muling and puking in its nurse's arms ”

should have passed, would the bantling have outgrown its babyhood, and arrived at the full perfection of an age of maturity.

It has been at times indeed attempted to dwarf this growth. You have heard probably of the Laws of the Medes and the Persians, which are said to have admitted of no change; and Native Gentlemen of India, if I may be permitted to make the observation without offence, you have your own institution of *caste*, than which nothing was ever more ingeniously contrived to restrain, as within an iron mould, the development of your national powers. But even the best institutions of one age are frequently only ill adapted to those of another. All attempts to legislate irrevocably for futurity, where the laws are themselves vicious, or imperfect, however for a time they may throw up a dam to keep back the tide of civilization, must prove abortive at last. The flood will finally burst the embankment which pens it in.

Indeed the Laws of a Nation and its Morals have a mutual dependence on, and reflection of each other. It was remarked by that profound observer, Machiavel;—"As good morals, to maintain themselves, need the aid of Laws, so Laws to make them observed, require the support of good Morals."* Nothing can be more true; and thus Law becomes not only the governing rule of a people's action, but the mirror of its morals.

Such being the general nature of a nation's Laws, what would you expect to find the character of those of that Nation so forward in the march of civilization as the one of which we are this evening discoursing; and Gentlemen, What is that Nation?

Hear the noble apostrophe to her genius, delivered now some two hundred years ago, in the then condition of her progress, by one of the greatest of her sons, the Statesman—Poet Milton; with whose sublime poem on *Paradise Lost*, I doubt not many even of my native audience are familiar. Indeed it has become, I believe, a class book in your University.

"Lords and Commons of England!" said Milton "consider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been persuaded, that even the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agri-

* "Perchè, così come gli buoni costumi, per mantenersè hanno bisogno delle leggi; così le leggi, per osservarsi, hanno bisogno dei buoni costumi."

cola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French.”*

Milton’s description is to be found in an address to the Parliament of the day, for the removal of an ordinance then lately promulgated by it, for imposing most wanton fetters on the freedom of the press. The appeal, though one of the grandest combinations to be found in *any* book, or in *any* language, of acute and profound reasoning,—of historic illustration,—of playful wit and satiric power,—of fervid eloquence,—was for a time indeed powerless against the besotted and oppressive intolerance to which it was addressed. But “*magna est veritas et prevalebit*,”—in other words, Truth is mighty and will ever prevail at last. In that same address, the author elsewhere foretold his Country’s future when he says “*Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.*”

The principles the Areopagitica propounded were ultimately triumphant; and the shackles which would have kept the human mind in bondage, fell off;—nor would the voice of all thinking men now hesitate to avow, that among the many causes which have contributed to England’s greatness, is that freedom of speech and of writing, that outward vent to inward thought, which is so prominent a feature in our institutions;—a freedom curbed only when liberty prostitutes itself into licentiousness, or is stolen as a cloak but to cover some private malice.

Milton spoke of England in the then stage of her development; but she was at that period far behind that which she has since achieved; and it may not be a useless lesson here for a moment to reflect to what height under Providence, a nation may arrive which, secure in its own stability, yet turns the “quick ingenious and piercing spirit” of which the Statesman spoke, into that enduring enterprise, which has so strongly marked the career of the British people.

Time was, when the soil of England, covered by dense forests, inhabited by wild beasts, had scattered over its land a scanty population, scarcely, if at all, emerged from barbarism; and whose state may be best represented to the imagination,

* *Areopagitica*.

if we picture to ourselves its people, as they were then described, either in a state of nakedness bedaubed with paint, or, when clothed at all, clad only in skins; and such was the condition in which they were found when Julius Cæsar, but shortly before the Christian era, first led his conquering legions to their shore. The four or five centuries of Roman oppression which followed, left them, on the final withdrawal of the Roman forces in the year 450, in that miserable plight that, becoming the prey of every predatory neighbouring power whom it pleased to make inroad on them, they besought their former conquerors for aid, with the pitiful tale that their barbarian enemies drove them into the sea, and the sea drove them back again upon their enemies. Even so late as what is termed the Norman Conquest, in the year 1066, they were still in a most infantine state, unable to resist the warlike forces brought over from Normandy to seize upon their soil; nor was it, until a considerable period subsequently, that they began to assume any thing like a rank among the nations of the world.

What is their present condition? What "the change which has come o'er the spirit of their dream?"

The soil, erst a jungly waste, now tilled throughout to the highest point of cultivation,—fields of waving corn, of green pasturage,—orchards teeming with fruit,—gardens perfumed with flowers,—even the choice exotics of foreign and remote climes transplanted to grace its conservatories, nourished under the force of an artificial heat.—A vast population swarms upon its surface. Strewed over its whole space are populous villages,—large towns,—and (to say nothing of its wondrous Metropolis, the admiration of the world)—other splendid cities,—the seats of thriving manufactures, the marts of extended commerce, the hives of an ever-stirring, and ever bustling activity; and from the produce of whose industry, a large portion of the globe—this very India—draws the supplies for its own wants. Interspersed at intervals between these towns are the rural residences of its gentry,—sometimes lordly mansions or even stately castles, surrounded by extensive parks, and often princely domains;—in other spots, if not so pretending, abodes in which the elegance of the structure, the beauty of the surrounding scenery, form an abundant compensation for the absence of a more costly magnificence. Scattered about alike in town and in country, are to be found the most exquisite displays of architectural beauty, and architectural grandeur, the monuments of an imperishable genius. The land is intersected by canals,—covered throughout its length and breadth by high roads, railways and electric wires;—with the shady lanes, and bye-paths of more secluded districts,

—Its rivers are bridged,—its very seas embanked :—it has its docks and arsenals,—and to borrow the celebrated translation from the Greek ode,* of one, once a Judge on your Bench,†—

“ Bays and broad armed ports
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride.”

It possesses vast armies and immense fleets, as well for the internal defence of the people, as for the assertion of its dignity among the nations of the world,—the protection of its national honor ; and its whole area is one vast Temple of Justice to its people. Even the very bowels of the earth have their dwellers in the persons of her sons ; for, spread about beneath its surface, are vast districts, the scenes of busy industry, mines of wealth from whence are extracted the ores and the minerals, which, while they enter largely into the consumption and manufactures of home, find their way to the use of foreign and even distant nations ; as you yourselves can testify. It has been computed that the coal-fields of England alone, yield double the produce of the whole Globe. Enormous, nay unbounded, wealth is the possession of its people. Religion and philosophy give their stability to its national structure :—art lends the embellishment of her elegancies ; and science its more material development. So enterprising are the habits of the people, that the British flag floats in every harbour of the habitable globe ;—and the English tongue is to be heard wherever the foot of man falls ;—on the icy shores of Greenland,—in the burning deserts of Africa,—in the trackless prairies of America,—in the heights, in the fastnesses of the Himalaya. Almost the entirety of Northern America, one of the four quarters of the Globe, not only speaks the language of England, and, in the main, adopts her laws, but derives its very lineage from her parentage. And the United States of America, once her Colony only, but afterwards separating themselves into an independent State, have grown into a rivalry with their mighty Parent. Other large and thriving Colonies, both in the Eastern and the Western world, the offspring of herself, bear in distant lands the impress of their parent's image, her language, her laws, her civilization—the Western Indies for example—the Cape—the vast continent of Australia, and even this mighty territory of India ;—all alike proud in owning Britain for their sovereign. Indeed, taking in all England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the kingdom itself occupies an area less than a twelfth of Hindustan, yet it has been said of its sovereign that the sun sets not on her dominions ; and there is scarcely a civilized

* *Alcæus.*

† Sir William Jones.

State in the world, in which the influence of England's position, the vibration of her power, are not felt. A nation terrible in war,—possessing a renown for deeds of arms unsurpassed by any people of either the ancient or the modern world;—endued with all the elements which are found to insure conquest; that is to say on the part of the Individual, physical strength, indomitable valour, discipline to combine, skill to direct, united with daring to advance to victory and patience to sustain defeat:—on the part of the State, boundless resources. Yet with all this, even in the hour of victory, its first longing is for the olive branch of peace, its desire ever is to turn its sword into a ploughshare, its spear into a pruning hook. War in its passage must ever be one of the greatest scourges capable of being inflicted on mankind. But the struggle once ended, the plague stayed, even where the issue has proved an extension of her territory to the rule of England, the very subjugated people themselves have had reason to bless the triumph whose ultimate result has been, but to bring in its wake a civilization hitherto unknown to them. The greatest of all yet remains to be told. To Truth,—unswerving Truth—next to Almighty God,—is her worship given;—the leading feature of her national character is honesty:—nay, such is the acknowledged integrity of her people, that the pledge of the British statesman—the word of the British merchant, have come to pass as current throughout the earth, as if they were reduced into a coinage, and had the image of sovereignty impressed on the coin, to give stamp to its value, and currency to its circulation. Hear the emphatic testimony of the British General, the great Duke of Wellington, which from the scene to which it refers, this identical India, brings it home almost, as it were, to your very door:—

“I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every other frontier of India, *ten times over*, in order to preserve our credit for *scrupulous good faith*. What brought me through many difficulties in the war and the negotiations of peace? The *British good faith*, and nothing else.”

Such is the country of whose laws I am speaking to you;—such the land, whose people but a few centuries back were driven by the barbarians into the sea, and by the sea back upon the barbarians. To return, however, to its Laws.

The law of England is both unwritten and written: what is termed Common law and Statute.

The Common law is the most ancient body of its laws. It is the creature of the earlier necessities of the Country,—the embodiment of its primitive customs:—it is the clothing in legal obligation, those regulations of security addressed to

person and property, without obedience to which no society can hold together.

Whether it be worked out through the agency of a Patriarch, a Punchayet, or a King, the expression of the will of the Community against acts opposed to its security, or in maintenance of their national customs, must receive an early echo in the judgments of those who are charged with the protection of the people; and those judgments by degrees assume the form of a Law.

For awhile, perhaps, this echo is but a floating element to guide the decision of those, who before the establishment of regular Tribunals has taken place, find themselves invested, however rudely, with the functions of Justice. But, as organized functionaries are established for the administration of Justice, it assumes a more definite shape. What is adopted as the ground of decision in one case, becomes a principle for the decision of others, while the Judges would naturally expand the simpler rules on which they started, so as either to embrace analogous emergencies, or to supply defects hitherto unforeseen; and thus the whole soon acquires the *fixity of a system*.

This Common Law has been compared to a banyan tree,

"Branching so broad and long, that in the ground,
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree."

Such is the history of the growth of English Common Law; and even for some centuries after the country began to settle down under the form of a monarchical government, the Common Law was all that was administered in its Courts. In due time, indeed, the system requiring some modification, a new principle of jurisprudence sprung up under the head of Equity, the object of which was to control the technicalities of the Common Law, and supply its deficiencies; but even this so far partook of the nature of Common Law itself, that it owed its origin to no written or statutory provision, but was alike founded in the immutable principles of Justice, and the increasing wants of the age, and merely supplied an additional power to the Judicature. Neither the Common nor the Equity law of England, has any other written definition, than that traditional exposition of them which is to be found in the Reports of the Courts, and the Treatises of learned text writers.

Though England indeed has no Code of her own to boast of, the last session of her Indian legislature has given one to India. Anatomists are found experimenting on animals, to enlarge, by the study of comparative anatomy, their knowledge of the human structure and of human action. I will not refer to India as the *corpus vile* on which the Government

of England is experimenting in the cultivation of its jurisprudential science. But should the experiment prove a successful one, India may gratefully reflect back on England, the benefit of the example.

The Statute law of England was the growth of a later age than that which gave birth to its unwritten one; and had its origin, less in the every-day demands of the people, than in the occasion to meet some specific, some national emergence. A statute is the deliberate act of the whole legislature. Thus the first recorded piece of legislation which has been preserved on the statute book, is the celebrated act of Magna Charta. The original form of this was a Charter, granted in the reign of king John; but it subsequently appeared in the form of a Statute, in the reign of his son and successor, king Henry the 3rd.

At the time this Statute was passed, England was yet in that unsettled condition of the State, which left the law but too often to be set aside at the dictates of power; and unlawful and oppressive exactions had come to be practised, sometimes by the Crown,—sometimes by others in its name,—and sometimes by the feudal Barons or their retainers;—in fact, by the stronger generally over the weak. It was to remedy this state of things, that that Statute was passed; and it is a remarkable illustration of the character of the British people, that the first recorded law now to be traced on the statute book, was one, the grand object of which was to place on a firmer footing the liberties of the people. It protected in specific terms every individual in the Nation in the free enjoyment of his life, his liberty, and his property; unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers, or the laws of the land; and it prohibited all denial or delays of Justice; and imposed on the Judges the obligation of making fixed circuits of the Country, in order that Justice might be carried home to every man's door.

A later, and scarcely less celebrated statute, called the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, passed in the reign of Charles the 2nd, completed, in the article of security to the person, what Magna Charta had begun; by giving specific remedies to secure the person of every one against an unlawful detention.

Other statutes followed Magna Charta; though, until modern times, at distant intervals, and in scanty succession; but in these later days in rapid order, and abundant, some might say redundant, growth.

These may be treated as addressed to the two-fold objects, the regulation of the more domestic affairs of the people, and the government of its state policy.

Of the detail of these, however, it is impossible here to speak,

as it would be to enlarge upon the unwritten law of the realm in its individual particulars. I have said enough I think to show you that, to do this with any effect, my water-clock would require an *ocean's* instead of a *serai's* supply; and, instead of the sitting of an *hour*, you would need one of an *age*. Suffice it to be said that it is under the shade of this huge banyan of Common and Equity law, with the graft of the Statute, that the English Nation has lived and thrived.

Let us pass on to the mode in which these laws have been administered.

And here the great predominating spirit is a scrupulous anxiety that right should be done between the litigants. "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*:"—perish Heaven, rather than injustice be done,—is the very watchword of the Court. Nay, in the administration of criminal justice, this has been pushed to an almost chivalric extent; and it has grown into a maxim, that better should *ninety-nine guilty* escape, than *one innocent* man be convicted.

You have seen that Magna Charta provided that no man should be condemned except upon the judgment of his peers. This but ratified the adoption of an even then existing institution, as ancient as the time of the Saxons, the trial by Jury, with which you are all acquainted; and this is still the general course of trial in ordinary criminal cases; and with some exception in civil ones too. In the case of parliamentary impeachments for state offences, the trial proceeds before the whole body of the Peers. Trials of this latter description are, however, now but of rare occurrence, though once more rife in the land. You have heard of Warren Hastings, formerly the Governor-General of this Country.—One of the most remarkable of these trials was that of his impeachment.

In that darkness of her moral night, which enveloped Europe in the earlier history of our Law,—when superstition as a mist covered the land,—our judicial trials did not escape the universal contagion; and there was occasionally resorted to, as the test of innocence, or the criterion of right, that whimsical, wretched, it might be said, wicked farce, called Trial by Ordeal or by Battle; the theory of which was, that Heaven might be invoked to work a miracle, and God himself to award the judgment. Your own laws of Menu, if not in the same form, exhibited in principle, somewhat not very different.

In a Criminal charge, the accuser having made his charge, if it were a matter of no great notoriety or easy disproof, the party *purged* himself by his own *oath*, and those of certain persons called *compurgators* vouching for his credit, and this was an acquittal. If he had been before accused of crime or

was otherwise thought unworthy of credit, he was driven to make out his innocence by an appeal to Heaven in the Trial by *Ordeal*, which was ordinarily either by water or iron.

The *Ordeal* was a religious ceremony. For three days before the trial, the culprit was to attend the priest, to make his offering, and to sustain himself on nothing but bread, salt, water, and onions. On the day of trial, he was to go through a solemn religious ceremony, and swear that he was not guilty of the crime. The accuser and accused came to the place of trial with attendants. The charge was then renewed, and the purgation proceeded. If it was by hot water the accused put his hand into it, or his arm, according to the degree of the offence: if it was by cold water, his thumbs were tied to his toes, and in this posture he was thrown into it. If he escaped unhurt by the boiling water, which might easily be contrived by the art of the priests, or if he sunk in the cold water, he was declared innocent. If he was hurt by the boiling water, or swum in the cold, he was considered as guilty. If the trial was by hot iron, his hand was first sprinkled with holy water; then, taking the iron in his hand, he walked nine feet; the method of taking the steps being particularly and curiously appointed. At the end of the stated distance he threw down the iron, and hastened to the altar; then his hand was bound up for three days, at the end of which time it was opened; and from the appearance of any hurt, or not, he was declared guilty, or acquitted. Another method of applying this trial by hot iron, was by placing red-hot plough-shares at certain distances, and requiring the delinquent to walk over them; which if he did unhurt, was proof of innocence.

When resorted to in Civil cases, the trial was what was called *Wager of battle*; in which Champions were chosen on each side to fight out the strife in bodily combat, in preference to that *war of words*, in which the causes of the suitors are now maintained in our Courts.

The commencement of the proceeding was the throwing down of a glove by the Challenger, which was taken up by the Champion of the challenged. A piece of ground was then set out, and the Champions were introduced armed with batons, and staves an ell long, and covered with a leathern target. In the military Courts the battle was with sword and lance. When the Champions had armed, the first process—somewhat like a modern prize fight—was a mutual taking of one by the other of the hand, and each took oath against enchantment, sorcery and the like. The battle then commenced; and had to be fought on until the stars appeared in the evening; unless either Champion yielded in the meanwhile, and became what is called

recreant, pronouncing the direful word *craven*. The final triumph of either Champion was of course the success of the cause on which he was enlisted.*

This sagacious mode of trial appears in those barbarous ages, at all events, if not in England, in other Countries which adopted the institution, to have been applied to other subjects, for the decision of which it was about as fit,—even to the solution of the nice questions of State policy or Ecclesiastical casuistry. Two remarkable instances are recorded as having taken place in Spain. Alphonso, King of Leon and Castile, in the eleventh century, meditated the introduction of the Roman law into his dominions; but was uncertain whether this or the Customary law, which had hitherto prevailed, was the better. Were the Council of India in the like predicament, they would probably consult our friend the Advocate-General, or take counsel of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and perhaps the College professors also, as to which of the two systems of law was the best. But this doughty King did, what perhaps after all might have proved a shorter mode of cutting the knot, he appointed two Champions—two steel clad Knights—to determine the question with their swords in actual conflict; and the result was, that the Chevalier who represented the Civil law was beaten. So that the Common law

“Resumed the ancient quiet of her reign.”

During the reign of the same Monarch, the question was agitated whether the Musarabic or Roman liturgy and ritual should be used in the Spanish churches; and the decision was referred, as in the former case to the sword. Two Knights in complete armour entered the lists, and the Champion of the Musarabic, i. e. Gothic, ritual was victorious. The Queen and Archbishop of Toledo, however, were dissatisfied with the result, and they had influence sufficient to have the matter submitted to a different kind of ordeal. This ordeal too was a little whimsical; for if the matter was to be fought out, the fight, or at least the struggle, might as well have been between the *books* themselves bodily as between their *champions*, and a book ought to be able to stand muster for itself. A large fire, however, was kindled, and a copy of each liturgy was thrown into it. The Musarabic (perhaps being bound in some species of asbestos) stood the test, and remained unscathed, while the rival volume perished in the flames. “But,” says the narrator of the history, “those

Who are convinced against their will
Are of the same opinion still;

* See these proceedings set out in Reeve's History of English Law.

and because it was discovered, or asserted, that the ashes of the latter had curled to the top of the flames and leaped out of them, the victory was claimed for the Roman ritual. The result was that both liturgies were sanctioned; but as the Roman was chiefly favoured, it gradually superseded its competitor?"*

Such wicked tom-foolery could of course not survive in an age of reason; and in all the Tribunals of England, the question no longer is whether the unhappy accused sinks or swims, is burnt or escapes,—whether the champions of the one side, or the other, are the more stalwart; but what is the actual *testimony* on which the issue to be tried is to be maintained; and, when the *facts* are ascertained, what is the *law* to be applied to them.

There has been scarcely any one thing in which English Jurisprudence has been more anxiously scrupulous, than in its selection of the *material* which it admits on a Judicial trial, under the term of *Evidence*.

Vague rumour,—what one man has heard another tell,—which may be as much a tale of *fiction* as a tale of *truth*,—one of exaggeration as much as one of exactitude,—a statement which the Law calls *Hearsay* is, save only in certain exceptional cases, altogether excluded from our Courts.

The leading canon is to refuse all *secondary* evidence, wherever *primary* is forthcoming; and to try all causes, by the *best* evidence producible.

The two broad classifications of testimony are into *Direct* and *Circumstantial*, the former being the evidence of eye-witnesses to the fact, or something equivalent to it;—the latter the inference from some *group* or *chain* of accompanying circumstances, surrounding the main fact itself, and leading to the establishment of its existence.

In the case of Positive testimony, assuming the honesty of the witnesses, and assuming that they were themselves under no mistake, this must be obviously conclusive.

In the case of Circumstantial evidence, its force is dependant upon the *chain of circumstances*, the number and the weight of its individual links.

Take for instance a case of murder, in which the crime might have been committed in a house wherein there was none resident but the deceased;—who might have been old, infirm, and incapable of resistance;—and in possession of hoarded money shown to have been abstracted,—and one may have been seen creeping out of the house, with apparent stealth, and about the probable time of the murder;—and he may have been traced to

* Hortensius.

some place where concealed clothes may have been discovered, spotted with blood, and a bloody knife may have been found in his track ;—and he may have been seen at low drinking houses, squandering money in debauchery and in profusion beyond his apparent means of living ;—and when apprehended he may have been unable to explain away any of these damaging circumstances. The lone occupancy of the house, the age, infirmity and hoarded money of its occupant, the furtive escape, the clothes, the knife, the dissipation of the drinking scene would all be matters with which *in the ordinary course of things* nothing but the fact of this particular individual having committed the murder would fit in ; and, from the minor or subsidiary facts, the major accordingly would be presumed.

It would, indeed, be within the compass of *possibility* that the murder was *self-committed*, or that some *other* had done the deed and escaped from the house by a different direction ; while the presence of the party at the spot *may* have been accidental : the clothes *might* have been deposited, the knife thrown away by *another* hand : men *may* be seen drinking at houses of entertainment without being murderers, and spending money even largely without being thieves. But in the absence of contradiction or explanation, Courts must put that construction on circumstances of which human experience dictates the rationality, must adopt their deductions ; and the Codes of all civilized countries recognize evidence of this class as the most cogent of proof.

The murder case put, would be an illustration of the effect of circumstantial evidence to *convict*. Such evidence would of course be equally available to *acquit*. In the early part of the present century an English Soldier was brought to a Court Martial on a charge of being asleep on his post at night,—one of the highest of military crimes. He was posted within hearing of a clock which chimed the hours through the night ; and, by some strange slipping of the hand, it had struck at one and the same time the hours of *twelve* and *one*, thus making a strike of *thirteen*. Fortunately for the Soldier, not only was he in fact awake, but had counted the chimes at each stroke of the clock, and was thus enabled to speak to this remarkable incident. The clock's irregularity and his good counting, saved the Soldier, possibly his life. Had it been an ordinary strike of *twelve*, it would have been easy to have pretended a hearing, for which, however, probably he might have got no credit ; but a strike of *thirteen*, who but an actual hearer could have told ? An examination of the clock proved the truth of the tale.

Still, in all cases of Circumstantial evidence, we have to distinguish between *the combination of a chain*, and the mere

accident of a single coincidence; and the annals of most Courts afford instances in which innocent people have unhappily suffered from too implicit a reliance on this coincidence, and many more in which they have been exposed but to hair-breadth escapes.

As an illustration of the latter, I will mention to you the case of a shoemaker who was tried in England for the murder of his wife. He wore the leathern apron of his trade; and this, on examination, was found to exhibit pieces pared out, supposed to have been the blood spots of the murder. This looked at first sight very ugly. Lady Macbeth could go no further than seek to exorcise away the spot.—“Out, damned spot!” she exclaimed, “Out, I say—but who would have thought the old man had so much blood in him!” It was thought, however, that in the case of the Cobler, he had taken the more effectual precaution of cutting it away. Fortunately he was less of a *murderer* than of a *Samaritan*;—he had *cut out the pieces to make plasters for a neighbour*.

A remarkable, and unhappily fatal, instance may be quoted as illustrative of the former, in a well known incident of French procedure; and which created so much interest at the time, as even to have been dramatised for the stage, in both France and England, and turned into an Opera. Indeed, should you ever exchange the Theatre in which you are now listening to the story, for what you may not improbably consider the more amusing ones of any of the Metropolises of Europe, you may yet recognize under the title of the *Gadza Ladra*, or *Robber Bird*, the friend to whom, as regards my Indian audience, I am possibly introducing you this evening for the first time. In a house in Paris, money having been missed; it was traced to the locked chest of a poor servant girl in the family, who had its key. This pointed to her as the thief,—she was taken up upon it,—upon it she was tried,—found guilty,—condemned to death,—and executed. Strangely, however, the theft of the money still went on;—and more strangely still the chest continued to be the place of its deposit. In the house was kept a pet magpie; and magpies are noted pilferers, and cunning birds; but, though the bird had a bad character, who could suspect even a magpie’s wit of forcing a locked chest? A watch, however, was set; the guilty bird was subsequently caught in the very act; and a closer scrutiny of the chest brought to light a hole which had hitherto escaped observation, but through which the money had been obviously introduced. History does not record whether the bird, the real culprit, were afterwards put on his trial. He may have possi-

bly been shot; and certainly it was *he*, rather than the poor girl, who had earned the fate of an execution.

One case more only I will relate to you, which had not however quite so tragic an end; though the circumstantial evidence of both crime and no crime appeared in the different stages of the proceeding with pretty equal force.

In all cases of supposed murder, English lawyers require what is called proof of the *corpus delicti*, that is of the *act of crime*, and you would probably think production of the murdered body went a long way towards this proof. A case has travelled from India to England and got into our Law books,* where some officers in India were breakfasting in their commander's tent, and the body of a Native, *said to have been murdered* by the sepoy, was brought in and laid down. The crime could not be brought home to any one of them, yet *there was the body*. A suspicion, however, crossed the Adjutant's mind; and, having the kettle in his hands, a thought struck him that he would pour a little boiling water on the body. He did so:—on which *the murdered remains started up and scampered off*.

But the laws of any country may be unimpeachable,—its rules of evidence may be perfect,—yet, to secure a due administration of justice to its people, there is required in the person of the Judges who have presidency over its courts, *knowledge* to understand the law they have to administer,—and *integrity* to dispense it with impartiality.

In England, the law has for centuries been an *established* Profession, and long an important, a *distinct*, and a dignified one. It was once wittily said by one of the Yeoman class of England,—a certain miller,†—in those days when oppression had driven people to the necessity of reminding their rulers that freedom was a birthright,—“that no man came into the world with a saddle on his back, nor any booted and spurred to ride him.” So in England none vaults into the judicial saddle from the mere accident (as happens in India, in its Civil Service) of his wearing the boots and spurs of another order; but the Bench is always recruited from the ranks of the Bar; and before a man becomes a Judge, he has been long trained alike to the *theoretical* study, and the *practical* exercise of the law. As might be expected from such a precaution, there is no Nation in the World with whose Judges is to found greater learning of the law they have to administer, than the British.

* See Best on Evidence.

† Rumbolt—one of the actors in the Rye House Plot. See Fox's History of James 2nd.

Nay, chosen as the Judges themselves are, from the ranks of the Bar, that Bar is so constituted, as at once to invite to itself, and attract by its own rewards, the greatest intellects of the day. In the Profession of the Law, connected as its members often are with the more aristocratical classes of Society, it equally numbers among its ranks those who, sprung from the lower sections of the Community, have risen above them by the impetus of their own natural powers, the force of their own genius; just as in the natural world, fire will burst up through that which would pen it in,—steam will break through the boiler which would compress it within itself, although it were an iron band. To take an example from earlier days.—The great Lord Hardwicke, the grand architect of our system of Equity, though he afterwards came to be Lord Chancellor, and in virtue of the dignity of that high Office, to walk at the head of England's ancient Nobility, was originally a mere clerk in the office of an attorney, whose wife used to send him to Covent Garden Market to buy and bring back cabbages for the family dinner. To borrow an instance from more modern times in the persons of two of the brightest luminaries of the law of later days, one of them Lord Chief Justice, and the other Lord High Chancellor of England, both were the sons of hair-dressers; that is—taken from the class which in India you would call ‘barbers.’ What, Indian Gentlemen! would your notions of *caste* say to making a native barber, or the son of one, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; or what, from the power and eminence of the position of a Chancellor, may be an almost nearer approximation to the resemblance; the making him Governor-General of India?

But judicial *learning* without judicial *integrity* would be only a snare; and fostered as English law has been under the long succession of learning, ability and genius which has presided over its culture until its final development in its present admirable system of Jurisprudence, it has a boast higher even than its own perfection; and that is, that, be the suitor who he may who enters its Courts, or is dragged into them,—be he the richest or the poorest of the land,—the most powerful, or the least befriended,—the stream of justice ever flows unpolluted to his lips.

It is recorded of one of the earlier Lord Chancellors, Sir Thomas More,* who lived about the middle of the 16th century in the time of Henry the 8th,—(and who in fact subsequently suffered death for his very virtue at the hands of that monstrous oppressor)—that, “having heard causes in the forenoon between eight and eleven,—after dinner he sat in an open hall, and

* Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

received the petitions of all who chose to come before him ; examining their cases, and giving them redress where it was in his power, according to law and good conscience ; and *the poorer and the meaner the suppliant was, the more affably he would speak unto him, the more heartily he would hearken to his cause, and with speedy trial, despatch him.*" On one occasion he was remonstrated with by his son-in-law for that, shutting his door, as the Chancellor did, to all sinister influences, he deprived him (the son) of those little gains, to use the Indian term, "the bucksheesh," he, the son, might himself have got by *the custody of the key.* The answer of the father-in-law was ;—"But this one thing I assure thee, on my faith, that if the parties will at my hands call for Justice and Equity, then although it were *my father*, whom I reverence dearly, that stood on the one side, and *the devil*, whom I hate extremely, were on the other side, his cause being just, *the devil of me should have his right.*"

More, indeed, in that less advanced age, stood in his integrity in some contrast to the world at large ; and so frequent was then the practice of gifts to persons in power, and among others to the Judges, for purposes of bribery, that even when from his very uprightness he had provoked Henry's hostility and been removed from his office, charges of having taken bribes were got up against him. But he had the most satisfactory answer to them all ; and we are told by his biographer that,—"*a party having been induced to complain of a decree obtained against him by his adversary, whose wife, it was alleged, had bribed the Chancellor with a gilt cup, the Chancellor surprised the Council at first by owning, "that he had received the cup as a New Year's gift." Whereupon one of the Council indecently, but prematurely, exulted ;—"Lo ! did I not tell you, my Lords, that you would find this matter true?"—"But, my Lords," replied More, "hear the other part of my tale. After having drunk to her of wine, with which my butler had filled the cup, and when she had pledged me, I restored it to her and would listen to no refusal."* The other cases of bribery trumped up against him were, one his acceptance of a gilt cup from another suitor, for which, however, it turned out that he had *given a cup of greater value in exchange* ; and another, his acceptance from a lady in whose favour he had made a decree of a pair of gloves, in which were contained 40*l.* in angels ; but the Chancellor, as gallant as he was upright, had told her with a smile,—"*that though it were ill-manners to refuse a lady's present, and he should keep the gloves, he must return the gold, which he forced her to carry back.*"

Though corruption, however, it must be admitted was not in our earlier history the rarity it afterwards became, when once discovered, it was, even in days of more general corruption, visited with heavy punishment.

In the reign of Edward 1st, Sir Thomas Wayland, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was attainted of felony for taking bribes ;—his lands and goods were forfeited, and he was banished the realm : and in that of Edward 3rd, Sir William Thorpe, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, having been convicted of receiving five bribes, which amounted to one hundred pounds, was sentenced to be hanged, and all his lands and goods were forfeited.

But the most remarkable of all the charges of judicial corruption preferred against an English judge, whether we regard the individual who is said to have stooped to it, or the results which attended it, is that of the great Lord Bacon, pronounced by Pope,

“The greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind,”

and if his master mind did condescend to such a meanness, Oh how were the mighty fallen !! What a dark spot on the brilliant, but varying, escutcheon which has heralded that wondrous man to posterity !

Lord Bacon's whole conduct, nay the question of any actual guilt of his in this matter, has indeed provoked the keen discussion of differing historians ; and this is not the occasion on which to pronounce a verdict upon it. It is unquestioned, however, that he was impeached by the Commons before the Upper House of Parliament on the charge of having taken bribes in the exercise of his office as Lord Chancellor ;—and though motives explaining away the effect of the proceeding have been assigned to him in modern times, he did in fact throw himself on the mercy of Parliament, renouncing all defence in a sealed paper under his signature, placed in the hands of the Chief Justice to be laid before the assembled Peers. That no question might arise as to the formality of the procedure, the Lords despatched certain members of their body to the house of the Lord Chancellor to inquire if the signature were his ; and they were received by him in that very hall of audience, in reference to his conduct in which the charges against him had originated. Being asked if the signature were his, his answer was :—“ My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed.”*

* See Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*.

It was at this period of his history, that Bacon's worldly ambition appeared to have achieved its culminating point ;—and it is sad to look upon the fall ;—sadder still would it have been, were it not, that in the dignified pursuit of intellectual culture to which his latter days were dedicated, and the richness of its fruit, not only was there some atonement by himself for whatever may have been the errors of his previous life ; but there was left by him that large legacy of knowledge to mankind, of which even this distant soil, nay I trust this very audience, acknowledges the deep obligation.

It is not, however, so much with the memory of Lord Bacon individually, and the truth or untruth of the charge preferred against him, that we desire to deal. Our object is to illustrate a principle of British Jurisprudence,—a sentiment of British Nationality ; and acting as the governing powers of that day did, upon what was considered as an admission of the charge, one cannot but feel that the spirit of the British Nation but justly arose to mark the sense which it entertained of the value of judicial integrity, by the punishment with which it visited judicial corruption, when the sentence pronounced was—" 1st. That the Lord Viscount St. Albans should pay a penalty of £40,000—(equal to four lacs of Indian money).—2nd. That he should be imprisoned in the Tower (the State prison) during the king's pleasure. 3rd. That he should be for ever incapable of holding any public office or employment ;—and 4th. That he should never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court."

One later instance occurred in the trial for judicial corruption of another Chancellor, Lord Macclesfield, which happened in the year 1725. He was fined in the sum of £30,000, or three lacs of rupees, and ordered to be imprisoned until payment.

You will understand that regard being had to the different value of money in those times and now, practically the fines imposed both on Lord Bacon and Lord Macclesfield were infinitely larger than the same figures would have amounted to at the present day.

That of Lord Macclesfield, thank Heaven ! closes the list of trials for this abominable offence ; and now for above a century and a quarter, the Temple of British Justice has been free from the pollution. Nay, I believe I may say, throughout the British dominions, and you yourselves can re-echo it for India, that were any one now found at once so simple, and yet so bold, as to venture on the offer of a bribe to a British judge, the Judge would recoil from the proffered gift with the same horror as were he offered a scorpion.

Gentlemen, I fear that from the length of this address I shall have been a trespasser on your patience ; and were it otherwise the inexorable hand of the dial plate would call me to an end.

Having told you what the law of a Nation is,—and somewhat of the nature of English law in particular,—I will conclude by unfolding to you that beautiful panegyric upon *all* law with which one of our great writers, an early Divine, Hooker, concludes a dissertation upon Law in its more general scope, when he says ;—

“ Wherefore, that here we may briefly end, of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God ; her voice the harmony of the World : all things in Heaven and Earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power ; both Angels and Men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the Mother of their peace and joy.”



INCIDENTS AND IMPRESSIONS
OF TRAVEL
IN NORTHERN, CENTRAL, AND WESTERN INDIA.

BY THE
REV. LAL BEHARI DE,
FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION, CALCUTTA.

GENTLEMEN,

I have been requested by your President to give you a brief account of a journey I undertook, in the cold season of last year, to the Bombay Presidency through Northern and Central India. Had this journey been performed a hundred years ago, it would have been a feat. The Bengali traveller would then have been beset with insuperable difficulties. He would have laboured under the capital disadvantage of the want of good roads to the North West, nor can I imagine how, amid the hills of Ramgurh, he would have escaped the claws of ferocious beasts, or the clubs of still more ferocious men. Exactly a hundred years ago, he would have encountered, on the banks of the *Karmanasa*, the disorderly troops of Shah Alam—the ‘king of the world,’ and found all Behar distracted with the demon of war. At Delhi—that mausoleum of empires, he would have witnessed the celebration of the funeral rites of the magnificent house of Tamerlane by the redoubtable Sedasheo Rao, and seen the hills of Central India bristling with the lances of the Mahratta soldiery; while from the banks of the Nerbudda, to the foot of the Syadri hills, he would have met with bands of savage Bheels carrying devastation wherever they went. Thanks to the strong arm of the British Government—thanks to the civilization of England, those difficulties no longer obstruct the path of the solitary traveller. A magnificent road—the Grand Trunk Road, ‘smooth as a bowling green,’ has been constructed from one extremity of the empire

to the other; the tide of Mahratta misrule has been stemmed; the fury of the savage Bheels has been quenched; and a Bengali may now safely go from Calcutta to Bombay without a single adventure; while five years hence, when the great iron road is completed, a trip from Calcutta to Bombay, through Central India, will be as safe and pleasant as a drive on the Calcutta course. Under these circumstances you cannot expect to hear from me this night of romantic adventures, 'hair-breadth escapes';—for the absence of these stirring incidents, for the loss of poetry in Indian travelling, you have to thank the civilizing policy of England.

In conveying to you my impressions of travel, I might have presented you with detached pictures of scenery, of men and of manners. I thought, however, that a plain and unvarnished narrative of my journey with its incidents, though unromantic in their character, interspersed with such reflections as naturally suggested themselves to my mind, would perhaps be more acceptable to you, than laboured dissertations on the geography and ethnology of the countries through which I passed.

On Monday the 17th of October, 1859, after snatching a hasty breakfast, I crossed the Hooghly, went to the Howrah Railway station, and took my seat in a second class carriage, luggage and all. In the course of ten minutes the whistle was heard, and the iron horse trotted off. The other passengers in the carriage were two Eurasians, and three big-bellied Baboos, who seemed to have studied scarcely any other science than that of gastronomy. With such companions, there could be no intelligent conversation, and after the customary interchange of civility and allusions to the weather, I betook myself to the observation of villages and paddy fields smiling on both sides of the iron road. At Burdwan, I changed carriage in the hope of finding better company. But I was disappointed. My fellow-passengers in the new carriage were two European ladies; one of them, a middle-aged woman of forty-five, was evidently, from her conversation and accompaniments, a soldier's wife; and the other was a young lady of considerable intelligence and refinement. After we had started, I began dusting a seat with my handkerchief, on which the old lady, imagining that the dust flew towards her, uttered a multitude of words, of which I caught the following;—"You show no respect Europeans." To which I replied, "Madam, I trust I respect always not only Europeans, but all respectable people, and ladies in particular." The young lady said, "O, Mamma, the gentleman meant you no harm." Before we got down at Raneegunge, however, the ladies and I became friends; the old lady apologized; and I showed them all manner of atten-

tion at the station and hotel. The hotel was of a wretched description. We waited fully one hour, and no dinner was forthcoming; so, hungry and angry, I left Raneegunge at six in the afternoon. Before the long shadows of the evening closed around me, I found myself on the Grand Trunk Road. Thanks to the christian generosity of Mr. Greenway, the proprietor of the Inland Transit Company, I was master of a neat and comfortable carriage. In a corner of it I stowed away all my luggage, which consisted of a portmanteau and a carpet bag, spread my quilt on the cushion, and thus fairly began my journey, not forgetting to pray to God for His blessing. As there was no moon in the heavens I did not enjoy the scenery. At dead of night on awaking I found myself, carriage and all, in a river. We were crossing the Barakar. The carriage was hauled up into a boat, was ferried over, and dragged across sand by coolies. It was while walking on the banks of the Barakar that I had a view of the Pachet hill, rising in sombre majesty over the darkened landscape, and presenting to my imagination the idea of a gigantic Rakshasa sleeping on the tops of distant trees. I continued gazing at the noble hill through the murky night, till sleep closed my eyes.

As a Bengali of the Bengalis, untravelled and home-loving, born and brought up on the level plains of green Bengal, I had never seen mountains. My experience of mountain scenery had been confined only to a distant view of the hill Behari Nath from the railway station of Raneegunge. Judge, then, my surprise, when on the morning of the 18th, there burst on my ravished eye-sight the rich hill scenery of Behar, justly styled the "Switzerland of Bengal." I sat on the coach-box; and the hills which bounded the horizon on every side certainly presented a most imposing spectacle. They were clothed with low jungle and were undulatory in their appearance. My eyes continued partaking of the rich feast of hill scenery, till the cruel sun drove me inside the carriage. I soon, however, began to feel that I had need of a grosser feast than the unsubstantial one which nature had provided for me in the encompassing landscape. Great, therefore, was my delight, when at 9 A. M. I was told by my coachman that the traveller's Bungalow of Fitcouri was before me. Fitcouri is said to be upwards of a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and as the Bungalow was situated on an elevated ground, and commanded a striking view of the hills, I anticipated much refreshment both of the body and mind; when, lo and behold, I found the two compartments of the Bungalow occupied by travellers. Famished and exhausted, I ordered the coachman to drive on to Tope-

chanchi, twenty miles distant. The region through which I now passed was of the wildest character. Little or no traces of cultivation were visible. Savage rocks covered with jungle stared you in every direction, and scarcely less savage men, scantily clothed and living in the wild glens of the hills, were seen tending cattle. The heat was oppressive. The road was mended with quartz, which coming into collision with the wheels of the carriage gave out sparks of fire. This was the Ramgurh district, in former days the haunt of those redoubtable chiefs who, like the Border chiefs of Scotland, levied black mail, and whose names are handed down to posterity in the rude ballads of the mountaineers.

The scenery around the staging bungalow of Topechanchi defies description. The bungalow is situated at the foot of Paresnath which rises upwards of four thousand feet above your head, and behind you are high hills skirting the horizon. What Olympus was to the Greeks, Sinai to the Jews, and Mount Abu to the Jains of Western India, Paresnath is to the Jains of Eastern India. It was on the top of that gigantic hill that Paresnath, the last but one Trivankar of the Jaina sect, closed the drama of his divine life. There he obtained his *nirvan* or absorption into the divine essence. Thousands of devotees from all parts of India flock round the base of this 'lord of the hills,' ascend its wooded top, visit the foot-prints of the Trivankar, and worship his black image with its canopy of the heads of seven cobras. The chief temple on the top of the hill was built, about a hundred years ago, by Jagat Set, styled by his countrymen, on account of his boundless wealth, the eldest son of Lakshmi—the goddess of prosperity. A Jaina monastery is also there with its full complement of monks and priests. At the foot of the hill is a small village of the name of Madhavan, or the forest of honey, inhabited by devotees of the 'conquering' sect. Of the character and tendency of the Jaina superstition, like those of every other form of superstition, there can be but one opinion; but I confess, when standing at the foot of Paresnath and other temple-covered hills, I could not help feeling, that the erection of edifices of devotion on the tops of mountains was an indication of the lofty sense of religiousness in man. That mountains are appropriate places for the kindling of devotional feelings cannot be doubted for a moment. You seem to be raised from terrestrial things to the confines of heaven; and it is a significant fact, that the Judean mountains play no inconsiderable a part in the Evangelical narratives. Paresnath will soon be bought by the Government from its proprietor, the Rani of Palgunge, and converted into a sanitarium.

Early next morning I went over the Dhunwa Pass, the highest point of which is 1500 feet above the level of the sea. The road lies over a hill, and is very steep and serpentine. It is full five miles long. In some parts the road is so steep, that the horse has to be assisted in its downward progress. The scenery of the Pass is highly picturesque. The rocks are graced with trees of every description and size, small rills of water trickle through their rugged ribs, while the road itself, like a thread of silver, winds its sinuous course on the tops of the wood-covered hills. A thousand feet below the highest point of the Pass is the romantic dawk bungalow of Dhunwa, where the hills terminate, and before which lies a level plain.

Passing through Sherghotty, I reached Baron at 2 in the morning and began to cross the Soane an hour after. Rising in the mountains of Gondwana, the Soane—the classical Hira-nyavaha, or the ‘gold bearing,’ so named from the circumstance of its having in ancient times washed down sands of gold, has a course of 500 miles. In former days too, in the upper part of its course, were found *salgrams*, or fossilized ammonites, essential parts of the tutelary teraphim of every respectable Hindu household. At Baron the river cannot be less than five miles broad, though the greater part of the channel is silted up with sand, which is under water only in the rainy season. The crossing is easy, though tedious. The carriage was dragged by four oxen first across sand, then through water knee-deep, then across sand again. About the middle of the river-bed is erected a causeway of stone slabs, over which the wheels made a clattering sound. After crossing a world of sand we came to the brink of the river, properly so called, where the services of the oxen were no longer required. The navigation of the shallow part of the river was tedious and circuitous; but when the boat fell into the main channel, the rapid current bore it away to the opposite bank in a trice. The sun had risen on the hills of the south-east when I reached Dehri. Three hours’ drive from that new and rising settlement brought me to Sassceram. Sasseram, etymologically a ‘thousand play-things,’ owes its name to a tradition that it was originally the residence of a Rakshasa, who had a thousand arms with a toy in each hand. It is celebrated for having been the birth-place of one of those extraordinary men who, from the humblest beginnings, rise, by effort of genius and the felicity of circumstances, to the pinnacle of human greatness. Sher Shah was born the son of a Pathan landlord, and died Emperor of Delhi. His nativity contains his sepulchre in a large octagonal hall in the middle of a tank. I saw also the tomb of his father Hassan, which Sher Shah himself erected,

close to which is a stone bath intended, it is supposed, for the ladies of the seraglio. For the rest, Sasseram is an insignificant place. It is inhabited chiefly by Mahomedans, the houses of most of whom are built partly of brick and partly of sandstone. The inhabitants seemed to be very poor, but I was told that the present wretched appearance of the town was, in a great measure, owing to the mutineers, who twice plundered its bazar, and robbed the wealthy residents of all their gold.

Beyond Sasseram the country presented an interesting aspect. The sterile region of the hills had been passed, and nature began here to appear in all her fertility as in the paddy-fields of Bengal. Plantations of the Jowari (*Holcus Sorghum*), the Bajri (*Holcus Spicatum*), the Indian corn, and cotton, were visible on both sides of the road; and husbandmen were seen busily plying the tools of their useful industry. The Karamnasa was crossed in the cool of the evening. To that river, rising in the hills of Rhotas, has, by the superstitious Hindus, been ascribed an extraordinary influence. As its name imports, it has the singular quality of taking away the merit of the good works of every man that touches its waters. No matter, though the pious Hindu pilgrim had visited all the sacred places from Hurdwar to Ramisseram, from Dwarka to Kamroop; no matter, though the whole of his past life had been devoted to acts of beneficence and piety,—if he were by accident to dip his foot in the Karamnasa, his laborious pilgrimages and good works would be rendered of no avail. Unnumbered blessings, therefore, are pronounced by all Hindu pilgrims on the head of the merchant Putni Mul of Benares, who built an elegant bridge over the Indian Lethe.

With the merit-destroying river commenced the territories of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. The scenery continued the same as before. Well cultivated fields smiled on all sides; the Nim (*Melia Agadirachta*), the Sissoo (*Dalbergia Sissoo*), the Shirish (*Mimosa Sirissa*), and other trees lined the Trunk Road; the hills had hidden their diminished heads; and the country once more presented the monotonous uniformity of Bengal. At about ten o'clock at night the carriage was suddenly stopped under a tree. The horse was taken out, and two oxen were substituted in its stead, who forthwith dragged their charge to the banks of the Ganges. The carriage was put into a boat which the rapid current bore to the opposite bank. It was half-past eleven o'clock of the night of the 20th of October, that I first stood on the holy soil of Benares. As I stood I saw not ten yards before me. It was a gloomy night, there was no moon in the heavens, the stars were casting a feeble light, and darkness hung over the

city;—an apt emblem, I thought, of the moral and spiritual state of the stronghold of superstition in Northern India.

Who that is a Hindu, or that has once been a Hindu, can stand in the streets of Benares without the most thrilling emotions? Though looking upon the system of religion whose star is on the ascendant in the 'shining city,' as one of the most pernicious superstitions that ever debased humanity, I confess, I trod the pavements of Benares with no ordinary feelings. Those stone slabs, on which I then stood, had been trodden by the pilgrim-feet of innumerable generations; around those temples, whose lofty tridents still pierce the skies, had flocked, from time out of mind, devotees from all parts of the land of Bharat; and the banks of that river, where religious ablutions are now daily performed by myriads of human beings, exhibited a like scene of animation in the remotest antiquity. My own ancestors, of I know not how many generations, had all visited the city, and looked upon it as the holiest city in the universe, isolated from the rest of the world, and supported by the *trisula* of Mahadeva; and though I had no religious community of feeling with them, I could not help being for a time inspired with that undefinable emotion of awe mingled with solemnity, which involuntarily takes possession of the mind, when contemplating a scene rendered memorable by the exercises of religion of whatever character. But the feeling of awe soon gave place to that of sadness. To every man of right feeling, it is a melancholy spectacle to see a vast and intelligent population subjected to the sway of a most senseless superstition, which profited them neither in this world nor in the coming eternity. I "saw the city wholly given to idolatry." Every where stood the memorials of superstition. Men, women, and children, in 'numbers without number' bathed in the sacred stream, prostrated themselves before the Lingam, presented gifts to the hypocritical priests, and made *pradakshin* of the temples. Covetous Bráhmans of every grade and rank; stark-naked San̄nyasis, whether Jogis or Dandis or Paramhansas, 'with all their trumpery;' wandering Bairágis in their parti-coloured dress; religious impostors and enthusiasts of every form and description, revel in the unholy city. In one place you witness a learned Pundit expound the pantheistic tenets of the Vedanta; in another you hear fat priests produce unearthly sounds through the pressed nostrils; and elsewhere you see a knot of Bráhmans chanting the hymns of the Vedas. A thousand temples adorn the city, the pinnacles of some of which are covered with leaf of gold. Brahmani bulls and religious mendicants roam about as in their element. Hand-bells and the sacred conch-shell—instruments dedicated

to superstition, are ever and anon heard ; garlands of flowers offered to idols meet your eye everywhere ; and your nostrils are constantly regaled with the odours of the holy *chandan*. Benares is the paradise of the Hindu gods. The whole city is one vast pantheon. Though the Jerusalem of the followers of Siva, it contains worshippers of a larger number of the three hundred and thirty millions of the deities of the Hindu pantheon than any other single city in India. The representatives of almost every Hindu sect are there. The worshippers of the bull-riding and bhang-drinking god ; the Saktas of both the right-handed and the left-handed ritualism ; the Ramats ; the Ganpatyas ; the vegetarian Jainas ; the flesh-eating and wine-drinking Tantrikas ; and Vaishnavas of every Sampradaya, and of all degrees of madness, are found within the Panchkoshi.

I was glad to find that the strong-hold of Brahmanism was not destitute of the ministrations of evangelical missionaries. Three of the greatest Missionary Societies of England are devoting a portion of their energies to the enlightenment of this priest-ridden city. A band of devoted missionaries preach the gospel every day in all parts of the city in the vernacular dialects of the people. Besides a number of vernacular schools, in which the tenets of our holy faith are communicated to the native youth through the medium of their mother-tongue, there are two English missionary institutions of a superior order. Nor is the press inactive. Besides the translations of the Holy Scriptures into Hindi and Urdu, there is always in circulation a large number of religious tracts. These and other missionary agencies have resulted in the formation of the nucleus of a native Christian population, numbering about four hundred souls.

Benares is the Athens of India. It is the principal seat of Sanskrit learning, the residence of learned scholars, grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers and astrologers. Its school of the Vedanta philosophy is unrivalled in India, and is frequented by Brahmanical students from all parts of the country, from Assam to Kattywar, from Dravida to Nepaul ; and its expositions of Hindu philosophy are held in as great reverence as the edicts of the Pope in the Catholic world. The Indian Government patronizes letters ; and the noble college which has raised, in the chief seat of Sanscrit learning, sheds no little lustre on the last days of the East India Company. The College building, a noble Gothic pile, is one of the finest edifices in North India. That the College has exerted a beneficial influence on Sanscrit learning itself, will be admitted by every one acquainted with the labours of its late principal, the

enthusiastic and accomplished Dr. Ballantyne. One fact connected with the English department of the College greatly interested me. All the pupils of the highest class are Bengalis. Am I justified in drawing from this fact the inference, that the people of the North West do not care so much for mental culture as the inhabitants of lower Bengal? Whatever may be said of the physical weakness of the Bengali on the one hand, and the muscular strength of the Hindustani on the other, it is a simple fact, that the former beats the latter in all that relates to mind, and in whatever consists man's superiority over the world of brute force; and, as a Bengali, I could not help being filled with honest pride at the interesting fact that, in one of the greatest cities of North India, my countrymen were leading the van of sound and useful education.

Who that has gone to Benares has not seen an *ekka*? For the enlightenment of the untravelled, I may remark, that an *ekka* is a two-wheeled vehicle of a peculiar construction, drawn by a country pony. Fancy a seat made of strings and cords and one or two planks of wood, broad enough to allow one man to sit cross-legged, with four posts at the four corners supporting a canopy of calico; fancy this seat attached to two wheels, and drawn by a horse enclosed by two sticks projecting from the sides and meeting on the animal's back, and you will have a tolerable idea of a Benares *ekka*. Not unfrequently, small hand-bells are tied to the pony's neck and the sides of the seat, which emit grateful sounds as the vehicle is dragged through the streets. Other sorts of conveyances have their comforts and discomforts; but for first-rate jolting, for exquisite crushing of the bones, for an admirable contrivance for the rupture of the vertebral column, and the generation of rheumatic pains all over the body, commend me to an *ekka*. As a traveller in the North West, I had made up my mind to enjoy or endure, as the case might be, an *ekka* drive through the holy city. Thanks to the kindness of my Benares host, an *ekka* of fair average merit was provided for me. My host and I took our seat in the vehicle, our posteriors only being on the stringy cushion, and our feet dangling down; the driver sat on our front.

Smack went the whip, round went the wheels,
 Were never folk so glad,
 The stones did rattle underneath,
 As if Kashi were mad.

The Chowkamba is one of the most interesting parts of the city. The streets, paved with stone, are so narrow that, as Prinsep justly observes, "even narrow seems a word too wide." On both sides of the streets are houses of red sandstone dwelt in

from generation to generation. The Chowk and the Naya Chowk swarm with human beings, engaged in buying and selling all sorts of commodities from all parts of India. Leaving our *ekka*, and passing through lanes, in which two persons of moderate dimensions could not stand abreast of each other, we paid a visit to Vishweshwar, the pinnacle of whose temple is covered with gold. Without putting off our shoes we entered the temple and stood within a few feet of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*. Before us was the holy well, in which we saw the upper part of the Lingam drowned in water, flowers and *chandana*. This is the far-famed well in which poor Siva concealed himself to escape falling into the impure hands of the Mussalman, and for a sight of which pilgrims resort from the remotest parts of India. The officiating priest, while in the act of worshipping, solicited *bukshish*—a sad proof of the predominance of avarice over the noblest principles of human nature. Outside the temple, we were shown a large well, the waters of which were said to have the quality of curing diseases. The well owes its medicinal virtues to the god Siva, who, in a fit of intoxication, fell into it along with his physician and all his drugs. Not far from the temple of Vishweshwar is that of Kalbhairava, round which we observed men and women performing *pradakshin*. No right-hearted man can look upon these and other temples without the most painful feelings. It was, therefore, with no little delight that we wended our way to the *Man Mandil*, which is not an erection of superstition, but a temple of science. It is the famous observatory of Benares built in 1680 by Jye Sing. It contains a gnomon, an arc of a dial, a circle, and a meridional line, all in stone.

Near the observatory we hired a boat, and rowed towards the Manikarnika Ghat; and, as we proceeded, we were delighted with one of the finest views I had ever seen. The noble city seemed to look down upon the river with a lofty air. The houses and temples immediately abutting the river; the noble flights of steps of Chunar freestone adorning the steep banks; the myriads of men, women and children in their variegated dresses, making their ablutions in the sacred stream; the buttressed battlements of the castellated palace of Ramnagar rising in the water's edge;—all this makes the river view of Benares a truly fascinating one. We disembarked at Manikarnika Ghat, stood under the lofty dome of the Mosque of Aurengzebe, and ascended one of its minarets. I can never forget the scene which then greeted my eyes. The holy city lay at my feet with its thousand temples and its myriads of stone edifices, all clustered together,

“Thick as autumnal leaves, that strew the brooks
In Vallcumbrosa.”

We walked again through the narrow and crowded streets, recovered our ekka near the Chowk, and drove back to Secrole, after having been jolted, and crushed, and tortured, and pounded to our hearts' content.

I left Benares on the night of the 23rd of October. My progress was very slow at first. Owing to the multiplicity of passengers, the resources of the Inland Transit Company had been taxed to the uttermost. At some of the stations I had to wait for horses, and when I succeeded in getting them, they did not prove, certainly, the swiftest of their race. From the beginning they generally refused to be yoked—they kicked and bolted towards the stables. When with some difficulty a pony was enclosed in the shafts, he refused to move. Hands were applied to the wheels, the pony was pulled gently, then whipped severely—but to no purpose. He was coaxed; words of the tenderest endearment were addressed to him, such as, *chullo, mera báp* (move on my father); *chullo, mera beta* (move on my son); *mera ján* (my life); but in vain. Then the poor beast was threatened, and the foulest language was poured, not only upon his head but on the heads of his father and mother and his remote ancestors. Thus either soothed by flattery or maddened by abuse, the poor animal tried his best and trotted on for a time. Then he would suddenly stop, and the usual appliances of alternate flattery and abuse, patting and whipping would again be had in requisition. In justice to the Transit Company, it ought to be remarked, that their arrangements are excellent, and that the bad behaviour of the horses on this particular day was an exception to the general rule. The snail-like pace of the horses gave me abundant leisure to survey the aspect of the country. It was a level plain, like Bengal, with no elevations to relieve the dull monotony of the scenery. Among the trees on the road side were the nim, the sissoo, the fig and the tamarind. The nim is perhaps the most abundant tree in the North West, where it attains to a larger size than in Bengal. It is remarkable for the coolness of its shade, and I am not aware of any other tree surpassing or even equalling it in this respect; it has, therefore, been wisely selected for the roads, to afford grateful shade to the weary traveller in the heat of the day. Paddy-fields were few and far between; the chief productions being the jowari and the bajri, plantations of which, not unlike in appearance those of sugar-cane in Bengal, grace both sides of the road.

Says the Bengali proverb, “a single river is equal to twenty koss.” This saying was verified when I crossed the Soane,

and when standing on the banks of the Ganges opposite Allahabad, I apprehended another verification of it. From Jhoosi to the water's edge there is a mile of sand. Across this sand my carriage had to be dragged. Scarcely had the coolies begun dragging it, when one wheel sank deep in the sand. When the unfortunate wheel was with difficulty pulled out, its fellow on the other side sank down, to the no small annoyance of the coolies; and when that one was extricated, the two front wheels sunk also. It took me no less than two hours and half to reach the opposite bank.

Prayág, the Hindu name of Allahabad, has been a place of pilgrimage from the remotest antiquity. In sanctity it holds equal rank with Benares, Gya, Brindavan and Jagannath. It owes its sacredness to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. Superstition believes in the existence of a third river, the Saraswati, which is supposed to have a subterranean channel. The three divine sister-rivers meet together below the walls of the Fort, the blue Jumna and the turbid Gunga only being visible to the uninitiated eye. Towards the middle of the month of January, every year, the sands below the ramparts of the Fort present an animating scene. Myriads of Hindus from all parts of India repair to those sands, shave their heads, and bathe in the commingled waters of the two rivers.

Allahabad is the seat of a vigorous Christian Mission under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. What this mission suffered during the late rebellion is already known to the Christian world. But the liberality of the friends of missions has, in a great measure, repaired the ravages of the mutiny. New Mission bungalows have been raised on the ashes of the old; the Mission Church has been repaired; the mission press again set up; and the Bible and Tract Depository re-opened. Owing to the indefatigable labours of the missionaries and other causes, there is in the city a native Christian population of about 400 souls. One hundred of these are in connection with the American Mission, the rest with the Church Mission. These latter were formerly at Agra, but have removed to Allahabad, in consequence of the transference of the seat of Government, as most of them are employed in connection with the Government Press or the Police battalions.

By far the most interesting sight at Allahabad is the Fort. Originally built by Akber and afterwards improved by the Indian Government, according to the most approved system of fortification, it is one of the strongest in India. The old palace of Akber has been converted into an armoury, de-

clared by competent authorities to be the best in India. In the Fort is a curious subterranean place called Patalpur. As the passage was blocked up with charcoal, and has, as I understood, since the mutiny, for political reasons, been closed, I had not the privilege of descending into the infernal city. But those who had been in it, in former days, told me, that the passage led into a cave where there are hundreds of Hindu idols, the dried trunk of a fig-tree of the name of *Akshabat*, and the commencement of a subterranean passage to Delhi; and that, before the mutiny, the cave was the resort every year of thousands of pilgrims. In the middle of the Fort is Bhim Singh's *lath*, a graceful stone pillar between forty and fifty feet high. The inscription on it, deciphered by the eminent orientalist James Prinsep, was engraved at the time of Asoka, the Buddhist monarch, three hundred years before the Christian era.

Allahabad is a straggling town, and extends over several miles. Its several parts, the native city, properly so called, the fort, the cantonments, Daragunge, Múthigunge, Kuchpoo-roah, Canningtown, are all distant from each other, and often separated by tracts of ground covered with plantations of the jowari and the bajri, and the rows of the lofty tamarind, the sissoo and the nim. It has, however, a bright future. The mutiny has been its best friend. That event has made it the capital of the North-West. As the seat of government, it will now be more important than ever. There will soon be a larger population. The railway will increase its importance; its trade, now inconsiderable, will be indefinitely increased; and the presence of European troops will contribute to its cheerfulness and gaiety.

By the morning of the 26th October, I was at the Allahabad Railway station. As I was there considerably before the time appointed for the starting of the *ag ku gari*, I paid a short visit to the serai and gardens of Sultan Khusru, the unfortunate son of Jehangir. The serai is a noble quadrangle, surrounded by an embattled wall, and must once have been magnificent. The gateway, and the three mausoleums inside the garden, though in a state of dilapidation, are still beautiful.

In the railway-carriage from Allahabad my fellow-passengers were an East Indian, a British officer, and three native gentlemen. One of these native gentlemen was a perfect curiosity. He rejoiced in, or rather groaned under, the biggest belly owned by any mortal I had seen,—his abdominal regions sticking out in front certainly one foot from the general level of his body, and making right angles with his legs, which were as fat as those of an elephant. This singular belly was band-

aged round in two or three places by straps of cloth, to prevent it, I suppose, from falling off by its own weight. The owner of this jar of a belly had on his body a thick quilt, which stretched from the crown of his head to his knees, the width of the quilt not allowing his incomparable stomach to be completely covered. His arms and feet were naked, and round his neck was a chain of massive gold which must have weighed several pounds. To his two companions, who seemed to pay him profound respect, he spoke in an extremely low voice; while the portly digits of his tremendous hands were, ever and anon, stuffing into his monstrous nostrils quantities of snuff contained in a hollow painted ball of wood. This singular specimen of humanity was, I was given to understand, the son of the Dewan of the Rajah of Rewah, who was then proceeding to the Durbar of Lord Canning, to be held at Cawnpore. We passed through what seemed a very fertile country. I had now entered the Doab, or the tract lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, many parts of which equal in fertility Bengal, which the Mahomedans termed the 'paradise' of India. On both sides of the railroad were fields covered with the everlasting jowari and bajri, with wheat, with the castor-oil plant, with cotton, with pulse of various sorts, and sometimes with paddy. At one of the minor railway stations, all eyes were turned towards a personage standing on the platform. He was of slender make, of rather dwarfish stature, his complexion inclined to fair, with bright and penetrating eyes. He was intelligent in his looks, nimble in his movements, very fidgetty, restless as the sea. He was dressed in a plain pyjama and a satin chapkan, with a girdle round his waist, and a laced cap on his head. He was attended by a train of followers, one of whom held a gorgeous umbrella over his head. He walked up and down the platform, looked at every thing, spoke to every body, and asked a thousand questions. As the train paced back a few yards, he thought it was starting without him. He ran towards one of the carriages, and in a loud voice demanded the door to be opened. On being told the train was not starting, he grew calm. This interesting personage was the Rajah of Nagode, proceeding to the great Durbar at Cawnpore. After stopping one night at Futtehpore, the next day by rail I reached Cawnpore. Cawnpore! what recollections crowd into the mind at the sound of that name! "Cawnpore!" shouted the 93rd Highlanders under the heroic Havelock, as they stormed the Secunderah Bagh of Lucknow, and bayoneted those murderous Sepoys whose guilty hands had been imbrued in the blood of helpless women and children. Cawnpore has obtained an infamous celebrity; and the pages of Mowbray

Thomson will ever remain the darkest chapter in the annals of British India. It was with a melancholy interest that I visited the spots rendered memorable by Sepoy treachery, by feminine endurance, and British heroism,—the well, the soldiers' grave, the consumed cantonments, the burnt bungalows, the entrenchments, and the sad ruins in many parts of the city. The buildings of the European part of Cawnpore have sermons in bricks.

What struck me most in Cawnpore was its inhabitants. I had never before seen in any place so many stalwart, rough-looking men,—men of fierce countenance, and defiant attitude. As I passed in the evening, the road alongside the Ganges Canal, and as I wended my way through the crowded parts of the Chowk, I thought I had dropt among a race of giants—"among the sons of Anak who come of the giants."

The road from Cawnpore to Lucknow, a distance of 50 miles, will be ever memorable in the history of the rebellion; and the names of Mungurwar, Oonao, Buserutgunge, and the Alum-bagh, have already become household words. Had I the authority of naming roads I should call it the *Havelock Road*, since it was here that the serene genius of that model-warrior was pre-eminently displayed. It was with no ordinary feelings that I passed this road on the 28th of October. Two years before, in the dark month of September, 1857, the darkest month perhaps in the history of British India, had the heroic Havelock thrice come up this road as far as Buserutgunge, and had thrice retreated after exhibiting proofs of the greatest courage and the highest generalship; and in the same month had he, re-inforced by the chivalrous Outram and the fiery Neill, come up the fourth time never to return. A little later in the same year, the sagacious Lord Clyde had come up that road, afforded relief to the beleaguered garrison and army, and returned with marvellous success; and early the next year did the same venerable hero return by the self-same road to the final uprooting of the Oudian nest of rebels. The city of Lucknow owes its designation to Lakshman, the generous and heroic brother of Ram, the ancient king of Oude. Of the province of Oude, Fyzabad was the former Mahomedan capital until 1775, when Nawab Asoz-u-Dowlah transferred the seat of government to Lucknow. That Nawab and his half brother Sadut-Ali-Khan adorned the new capital with splendid buildings, till it became one of the finest cities in India. The capital of one of the most fruitful provinces of India, and of a nation of handsome and stalwart men; containing before the annexation a population of 800,000 souls; filled with the costliest and the most magnificent edifices; the abode of pomp and

splendour, Lucknow has always been regarded as the gayest and most beautiful city in India. It is truly a 'city of palaces.' In disparagement of this queen of cities, it has been sometimes said, that the buildings are all stucco and plaster. But may not the same be said of the majority of Indian cities, and especially of the metropolis of British India? But whatever may be the materials of the buildings of Lucknow, I envy not the taste and sensibilities of the man who is unaffected at the sight of those superb erections which meet him in every corner of that noble city. The practical and tape-carrying American traveller Minturn pronounced Lucknow a "gigantic sham," while his more accomplished countryman,—the aesthetic Bayard Taylor, described it "as lovely as the outer court of Paradise." Two circumstances tend considerably to damp that emotion of admiration which the edifices of Lucknow are calculated to excite,—their origin and their use. They were built from the extortions of oppression and the profits of misgovernment, were cemented by the tears and the blood of helpless ryots; and they have almost invariably been the haunts of vice and the chosen home of sensuality. It is some consolation, however, to reflect that, since the annexation, or rather since the suppression of the rebellion, a better use of those buildings has begun to be made.

In the city, properly so-called, the most remarkable sight is the Chowk, where a considerable trade is carried on. It has two gates, one of which is called the Akberi, after the great Mogul Emperor who is said to have built it at his own expense. Coming eastward you see the Inambara and the Rumi Durwaza, perhaps the most beautiful of the many beautiful buildings of this truly beautiful city. The central hall, 150 feet long and 80 feet high, is really magnificent. Near these splendid edifices rise the buttressed walls of the Mutchi Bhawan which figured at the beginning of the mutiny. Not far are the residency and the Bailey Guard—the scenes of those exploits, the memory of which will descend to the latest generations. Close to these is the Furrud Bux, long the residence of the kings of Oude, till the present ex-king removed to a building of his own erection. Adjoining this is the Chutter Munzil, an elegant edifice, its top surmounted by gilt umbrellas (whence the name), the abode of the ladies of the *harem*;—its northern face fronting the meandering Gumti, bears still the marks of British guns. Proceeding further to the east you come to a magnificent pile of fairy erections called the Kaiser Bagh, the gardens of Caesar, built at an enormous cost by the unfortunate Wazid Ali. It is impossible to survey Kaiser Bagh without admiration. The Jilokhanas in front of the northern

and southern gates,—the Cheeni Bagh, so called from the China vessels which embellished it,—the Huzrut Bagh, with its gate of green mermaids,—the Chandiwalli Baradwari, once paved with silver,—the Khas Makam and the Badsha Munzil, the residence of the ex-king,—the Choulukhi, so named because built at the cost of four lacs of rupees, the abode of the queen,—the tree with its roots paved with marble,—the two Lukhi gates, each costing a lac of rupees,—the Pathuria Baradwari, paved with marble,—and the Kaiser Pusund, surmounted by a gilt hemisphere and semi-circle,—all these, which make up the Kaiser Bagh, it is impossible to look at without admiration. Within the Kaiser Bagh were imprisoned the British captives; in the open space in front of its northern gate is the monument of the Dhowrera and Mithowli captives, inhumanly butchered on the spot; while close to its southern gate is the Neill gate-way, where the saviour of Benares and Allahabad found a soldier's grave covered with glory. Some of the other remarkable buildings are the Moti Mahal, or the pearl palace,—the Shah Munzil, formerly the scene of gladiatorial exhibitions,—the Tarawali Kothi, the house of stars, or the observatory,—the Hyath Bux where the heroic Hodgson fell,—the Begum Kothi, the scene of a dreadful fight, the grave of many rebels,—Noor Bux, from which Havelock drew his designs upon Kaiser Bagh,—Johur Bux, now the seat of a Christian Mission,—the Constantia, built by the eccentric general Martin,—the Dilkhosa, or the heart's delight, the king's hunting grounds and park,—the Shah Nujeeb, where Peel, Middleton and Hope signalized themselves under the gallant Sir Colin Campbell,—and Secunderah Bagh, the hall of which once swam with rebel blood, and in the environs of which repose the bones of two thousand mutineers.

Mr. President, I am not about to discuss the vexed question of the annexation of Oude. This is neither the place nor the time for taking up a political question of that sort. But whatever opinion we may entertain of the ethics of the annexation, there can be but one opinion of its utility. Now that the storm of revolt has blown over, that beautiful country has the prospect of the blessings of a strong and humane government, of an equal administration of laws, of universal security of property, and of an increase of national prosperity. The future of Oude must now be a bright one. In the view of these blessings I should like, I confess, to see, if the thing could be done on just principles, all the territories of the remaining native princes, reduced to the direct sway of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Native courts have invariably been, and at present are, the nests of corruption and oppression, of

barbarism, of incapacity, of profligacy; and the dominions of native princes have been always consigned to the tender mercies of misgovernment. If civilization is to be preferred to barbarism, if an equal administration of laws is to be preferred to capricious misrule, if public virtue is to be preferred to universal profligacy of manners, if virtue is to be preferred to corruption, the annexation of any native kingdom to the sway of Britain must be regarded as an inestimable boon to that kingdom.

From Lucknow I returned to Cawnpore, and as I sipped my morning tea at the verandah of the travellers' bungalow of the latter place, the Trunk Road in front presented a picturesque scene. Hundreds of pedestrians, of both sexes, plodding on their way, some with heavy burdens on their backs,—elephants, belonging to the Durbar Rajahs, gorgeously apparelled, stalking majestically to the sound of hand-bells hung around their necks, their pillar-like legs and their lithe proboscis,—scores of horsemen galloping with lightning rapidity,—dozens of camels, strung together by the nose, walking slowly and heavily, the hunch of their back alternately rising and sinking, and their long ungraceful necks elevated towards the skies, puffing the air of heaven,—and innumerable carriages of all descriptions, belonging to the Government Banghy and Sikram, the Inland Transit, the North Western, the Hindustan, the Central India, and I know not what other Dāk Companies, running apace, with the everlasting bugle sounding in your ears. In the afternoon of that day I was at Merunka-Serai near which, only two miles from the road, lie the ruins and mounds of the ancient city of Kanouge which, two thousand years ago, when the metropolis of India, was fifty miles in circumference and contained eighty thousand shops of betel-nut, and which, eight hundred years ago, sent priestly teachers to Bengal, the progenitors of the Kulin Brahmans. At Bhowgong the road branches off into two, one proceeding to Delhi, the other to Agra. I took the Agra Road. Few carriages, excepting country carts loaded with bales of cotton, were met with, but the road was thronged with passengers on foot. There were faqueers, almost stark-naked, their bodies painted with the white and the yellow ochre, on their back slung a tiger's skin, from one of the shoulders hanging a dried up hollow pumpkin—the depository of other people's charities, the image of a Hindu god in one hand, and a pair of iron tongs in the other. Those women, trudging on so slowly, must have travelled a great distance,—their sore feet being wrapped round with gunny bags to keep them from being lacerated by perpetual friction with the metalled road. You ask what the

contents of those wicker-baskets are which yonder party of travellers are carrying on their backs, and you are told, they contain peacocks and other valuable birds. You see a Hindu lady riding a country pony astride, her husband walking behind and goading the jaded brute, and you declare Hindu females are not so greatly oppressed as they are represented to be, and that gallantry is not wanting in native gentlemen. Those men and those women under yon umbrageous fig-tree, are resting in the heat of the day, some have stretched their lazy length on the bare ground,—others are bathing in water drawn from the adjacent well,—and others still are engaged in cooking a hasty meal. Through such scenes I galloped my way, crossed the Jumna, and entered Akberabad.

On the brow of Agra has been written Ichabod. Originally designed and adorned by the illustrious Akber, the city rose to the highest importance in the times of Mogul greatness. It is said to have contained upwards of six hundred thousand souls, eight hundred public baths, fifteen bazars, eighty serais, and one hundred mosques. Owing to a series of events the city lost its imposing greatness. It began latterly to revive under the fostering care of the British, especially after it was made the capital of the North-Western Provinces. The rebellion, however, has for ever diminished its importance, by removing the seat of government to Allahabad. But Agra will always, on account of its many sights, remain an interesting place.

The fort is built of red sandstone procured from the hills of Futtehpore Sikri. The Moti Masjid and the palace are the most interesting objects. The former, the mosque of pearl, was erected by Shah Jehan during his captivity in that fort by his son Aurengzebe. It is constructed of white marble and has a most beautiful appearance. It was designed as an oratory for the ladies of the *harem*. It has a large court surrounding it, and four rows of arches, all of milk-white marble. The palace, many parts of which are in a dilapidated state, is of rare beauty. The Shish Mahal, the bath-room, is a great curiosity, its ceiling and sides are decorated with mirrors. I was also shown the rooms where the ladies of the Seraglio used to play *hide and seek*.

At Secundra is a magnificent mausoleum where reposes the dust of one of the best rulers that ever swayed the destinies of an empire. It has a splendid gateway of red sandstone. The building is four stories high, each story diminishing in size from the bottom. The first three stories are of red sandstone, while the walls and pillars of the uppermost story are of white marble. In the centre is the tomb of Akber, of beautifully

white marble, inlaid with precious stones. Around the top of the walls inside are inscribed in Arabic characters the ninety-nine names of the Almighty. From the top of the mausoleum you have a noble view of Agra, six miles distant, and of the adjacent country.

But the most beautiful sight in Agra, in India, perhaps in the world, is the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the favourite wife of Shah Jehan, and the niece of the celebrated Noor Jehan, the light of the world. Of its kind the building has no equal, no second in the world. When I stood on its chabootra, the whole seemed to me unearthly. It was a most delightful vision. It reminded me of what I had read of Aladdin's Palace in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. It has a beautiful gateway of red sand stone, like that of Akber's tomb at Secundra. You then go through a long avenue of cypresses, in the middle of which there are a great many fountains. The premises are surrounded by a wall of the same material as the gate. By a few steps you ascend the chabootra, at the four angles of which are four minarets of white marble. By a light you are taken below, where you behold two exquisitely beautiful sarcophagi, one of Shah Jehan, and the other of his favourite wife Mumtaz-i-Mahal, of the purest white marble, inlaid with precious stones, which emit a dazzling lustre. The sarcophagus of the queen is covered with arabesques, flowers and other fanciful decorations. Each single flower contains one hundred precious stones beautifully polished; and there are several hundreds of flowers in the interior of the building. You come up and enter the rotunda, —the great dome, 70 feet in diameter and 260 feet in height, whose beautiful screens of latticed marble, inlaid with precious stones and covered with the most exquisite decorations, attract your admiring gaze. Within the screen are cenotaphs, like those you saw in the vaults below. I ascended the minaret in the south-western corner of the chabootra, on the immediate bank of the Jumna, and had a fine view of Agra and the suburbs. This fairy erection is said to have taken 20 years in building, to have employed daily 22,000 men, and cost three crores of rupees. The tomb of Etman-i-Dowlah, on the left bank of the Jumna, is inferior only to the Taj in beauty.

I left Agra on the 2nd of November in the Transport Bullock Train, there being no horse-dawk in Central India. The train consisted of eight keranchis, nine passengers, and one guard. For the information of my untravelled hearers, I may remark that a keranchi of the Central India Bullock Train is a four wheeled cart, with the sides raised about two feet high, and a wooden canopy resting on four posts in the four corners, from

which hang gunny-bag screens,—the whole, wood, screens and all, besmeared with pitch. The keranchi is drawn by a pair of stout bullocks, which are changed every six miles. As I paid for only one seat, I had no right to enjoy a whole carriage myself. Through the favour, however, of the Company's agent, an old Scotch soldier, who was full of reverence for a Presbyterian minister of the Gospel, though a native, I was put in a keranchi where I was the only passenger, along with two packages. Six keranchis were over-stocked with packages on which were perched six natives, and in the remaining keranchi were two young Englishmen, connected with the Central India Revenue Survey, proceeding to Gwalior. I took passage for Indore. I spread my quilt on the wooden frame, put my port-manteau along the two packages already spoken of, converted my carpet-bag into a pillow, and thus prepared for my Central Indian journey. After leaving Agra, the bullocks began to run. Then did I for the first time feel the pleasures of Central India keranchi travelling ;—tremendous jolting, so vehement at times, that after the fit is over, you anxiously look about to examine whether you have been dismembered, or any of your bones dislocated ; a jarring, crashing sound, deafening your ears and drowning all other sounds, articulate or inarticulate ; and last not least, the never-ending clouds of dust, filling the waggon an inch deep, hopelessly soiling your clothes, entering into your nostrils so as to supersede the necessity of snuff for a whole twelvemonth, and creeping into the interstices of your teeth and producing a sensation similar to what you feel when chewing straw. After a two hours pleasant drive of this description, the train stopped on a sudden, and I heard a voice address me saying, " Have you any objection to my seeing a friend who lives in a tent close by ? " These words were uttered by one of the two Revenue Survey Assistants. I replied, " None at all, if you return soon. " The two young men wended their way to a tent which stood not far off. After a short while, one of the gentlemen living in the tent came up to me, and civilly asked me to step into the tent. On entering the canvass house, I found half a dozen young men sitting round a table laid out for dinner, and apparently waiting for me. We fell to and discussed the chops, the rice, curry, &c. After spending an hour with our hospitable host, we of the bullock train returned to our after-dinner drive, which lasted through the live-long night, in those elegant conveyances of which I have already given you a brief description. Next morning, mine eyes opened on a country quite different from either Bengal or the North-Western Provinces. It was wild, rugged, hilly ; and the traces of cultivation were scarcely discernible. Table-

crowned hills, covered with low jungle, were everywhere seen ; and the white bungalows, which were perched on the sides and tops of some of the hills, were exceedingly pretty. In the afternoon we came to the banks of the Chumbal, where we saw the baggage of some companies of soldiers proceeding to Gwalior. As the ferry boats were all engaged in the transport of the baggage, we were obliged to spend on the banks that afternoon and the following night. The Chumbal, the "paramount lord of the floods of Central India," rises in the Vindhya mountains near Mhow, has a course of upwards of 500 miles, and joins the Jumna near Etawah. It is called in the ancient Hindu books *Charmavati*, that is, abounding with hides. The bed of the river, where I crossed it, cannot be less than half a mile, the greater portion of it being filled with heavy sand. Unlike our own Hooghly, which glides at its own sweet will alongside villages smiling with plenty, the Chumbal leaps from rock to rock, forms many a fantastic cascade, and cuts its way through the everlasting hills. Not far from the road lies the village of Maharajpore, the scene of a battle between the British and the Rajah of Gwalior during the administration of Lord Ellenborough. Passing through a parched and rugged country we reached Gwalior at night. Where my fellow passengers went, what became of the keranchi I knew not. I alighted at the travellers' bungalow, where I gave immediate orders for breakfast, or dinner, or supper, or any thing you choose to call it. For the fact was, that during the last forty-eight hours, I had not eaten any thing, except half a dozen odious cakes which pass in Central India under the appellation of *puris*, and seven of which are sold for a pice. They are made of pounded bajri, and fried in oil or ghi or both. What a change from those abominable *puris* to the delicious rice and curry which, thanks to the ingenuity and good taste of the presiding genius of the bungalow, I obtained at dead of night, in the capital of Maharajah Scindia !

Gwalior is in many respects a remarkable place. It is embosomed amongst hills, and its celebrated fort, which is said to have been built in the year 773 by Rajah Surjya Sen, and which Mahmood of Ghizni found it impossible to capture, is situated on the top of a hill. Lashkar is the stationary camp of the Maharajah, and at Morar, six miles distant, are the British cantonments. The heart of the city, Jeagunge, is a busy and filthy place. The streets, by no means broad, are excessively crowded. But what struck me most was the large number of horsemen passing through the most crowded parts of the city. The people of Gwalior are either Mahrattas, Rajpoots, or Bheels ; and Mahratta horsemen are certainly not

so formidable in their appearance, as those I had seen at Cawnpore or Lucknow. With a careless *pagri* on their head, a *chapkan* on their body, and a *dhotee* covering their under parts, their feet in slippers dangling by the sides of the horse, they went on galloping and trotting through the crowded streets, chewing *pawn* leaves, and now and then cautioning foot passengers to keep off. Many of them had muskets in their hands, and not unfrequently they fired in the streets. Elephants, splendidly caparisoned, were by no means an unusual sight; and it seemed to be the custom of the Mahratta nobility to come out every evening with mounted followers, and shew themselves in the most frequented parts of the city. Many of the inhabitants of Gwalior appeared to have pleasant recollections of Tantia Topce. Some of them told me, that during the few days that that remarkable adventurer was master of the city, he consulted the welfare of the people, and committed no outrage; they further added, that *a* Tantia Topce was certainly hanged at Sepree, but that the *real* Tantia was alive, and would turn up again some day with a large army. After leaving Gwalior, I saw hardly any thing except rocky eminences covered with vegetation. Hills surrounded me on every side, the ground was flinty and unfruitful, and there were no signs of human industry. It seemed to me to be the reign of desolation. At Sepree I stopped a few minutes to see the spot where Tantia Topce was hanged. Sir, I confess, I could not help lamenting the fate of a man who, during the rebellion, displayed military talents of the highest order. Roaming over all Central India from Calpee to the western limits of Rajpootana, from the Nerbudda to the Chumbal, in the teeth of strong foes; baffling the skill of British generals engaged in his pursuit; marching with a rapidity unknown in the annals of modern Indian warfare; now commanding a well appointed army of twenty-five thousand men raised by his own genius, and now seeking shelter in the jungles, with one or two attendants; now sitting on the *Guddee* of Gwalior, collecting taxes, levying contributions, dispensing justice, lavishing rewards on his followers, and now wandering as a beggar in the wilds of Central India, Tantia was no common man.

The next day I was at Goonah. The road was rougher than before, the hills more frequent, the jungles more dense; and the aspect of the country frightfully wild. Goonah is a military station. I asked a soldier to show me the travellers' bungalow. He replied, "There is no travellers' bungalow in the station. But what do you want travellers' bungalow for?" "Why," I answered, "the fact is, that I am rather in a hungry case: the last two days I have been living upon wretched *puris*."

"Come in, *maan*," said the hospitable soldier, in his broad northern accent. He made me sit down on his *charpoy*, and brought for himself and me a loaf of bread, half a dozen hard boiled eggs, and a tin mug of tea. There were of course no knives or forks or spoons; we broke bread with our hands, cracked the eggs on the ground, and alternately drank from the same tin mug.

And here, allow me, Mr. President, to say that, during my whole journey, I experienced nothing but kindness and gentlemanly civility at the hands of those Englishmen with whom I came in contact. An Englishman,—under which term I include your countrymen, Sir, the natives of Scotland, as well as those of England and Ireland,—an Englishman is very little understood by the majority of my countrymen. Were this the proper time I might point out the causes of this misunderstanding. An Englishman is generally supposed to be overbearing and haughty in his demeanour, and filled with ineffable contempt towards the natives of this land. I beg to say, Sir, that the result of my experience is different. In the course of my life, short as it is, I have had intercourse with not a few Englishmen; and I declare, without hesitation, surrounded as I am at this moment, by a large body of my intelligent countrymen, that an Englishman, be his faults what they may,—and what son of Adam is without his faults?—I declare, Sir, as the result of intimate fellowship with not a few Englishmen, that an English gentleman is the *model* of a gentleman. All that is lofty in principle, dignified in bearing, engaging in manners, intelligent in conversation and affable in demeanour, is included in the phrase an *English gentleman*, properly so called. If you succeed in breaking through the crust of reserve and silence which generally overlies the character of an English gentleman, you find within rich veins of sterling worth and genuine goodness. An English gentleman's word is as good as stamped coin in the markets of the world; and I found the name "*Englishman*" command awe and respect from the hills of Ramgurrh through the North-West to the shores of the Arabian Sea. My gallant friend and host, the Scotch soldier of Goonah, and some of his comrades, dissuaded me, all alone as I was, from leaving Goonah that evening. They said, "There are cowardly fellows lurking in the thickets, who plunder travellers now and then, but dare not show themselves to us." I spent that night there in my keranchi. Next morning I left Goonah, and proceeded through dense jungles, now going up-hill, now down-hill. I had not gone many miles when, near a *nullah*, I saw a company of about thirty travellers, including women and

children, sitting by the road-side. About half a mile in front of the place where they were resting, they had seen a small band of *budnashes* who attempted to plunder them; and they had therefore retreated to the *chowki*, and asked help of the watchmen stationed there. As I knew that a dozen sepoy were coming behind me from Goonah, proceeding to Mhow with ammunition, I waited for their arrival along with the other passengers. When the sepoy came, we proceeded up the wooded hills, and did not cross the shadow of a single rebel. I passed through Raghugur, crossed the Parvati, and reached Beora on the afternoon of the 10th. Beora is, properly speaking, the termination of the jungles between Gwalior and Indore. Beyond Beora traces of cultivation began to appear, herds of buffaloes were now and then visible, the roads became less precipitous and rough, and the hills less numerous and less wooded. I travelled day and night, breakfasted, dined, and supped on some loaves I had bought at Goonah, and a few execrable sweatmeats I had purchased at Beora, and at last reached the travellers' bungalow of Indore on the morning of the 12th of November.

The capital of Maharajah Holkar, situated on the banks of the Kutki, has nothing extraordinary about it. It is full of irregular winding streets and houses built of sun-dried bricks. It has a large number of Hindu temples made of basalt and whitewashed with lime. The capital of Holkar suggested to me a series of reflections. The history of Malwa, ancient, mediæval and modern, passed in review in my mind. Not far from Indore is Ougein, which was the capital of the illustrious Vikramāditya, 56 years before the commencement of the Christian era. The court of that Indian Augustus was irradiated with the genius of the *Nava-ratna*, or the nine gems,—the poets, moralists and philosophers of Malwa. Of that bright array of great men, Kali Das was unquestionably the greatest. Combining in himself the powers of a Milton and a Shakspeare, or rather of a Homer and an Æschylus, he has left behind him works which will be read with rapture to the end of time. Where he was born,—amid what scenes he was brought up—from what hills he drew his inspiration—what were his “school and school-masters”—and how he passed his days, we know not and shall never know. But when passing near the ancient Hindu city of Dewas, I could not help imagining, that the Indian Shakspeare might have ascended the hills and crossed the rivulets of that neighbourhood. As I elbowed my way through the crowded streets of Indore, full of Rajpoots and Mahrattas, I could scarcely realize the idea that those semi-civilized, rude, rough men were members of that race to which the “eldest

child of the goddess of wisdom" belonged. In those days Malwa attained its highest and palmiest state. We have little knowledge of the successors of Vikramāditya, of whom the most celebrated was Bhoj Rajah, whom Elphinstone places in the eleventh century. The Hindu line lingered on till the thirteenth century when it succumbed to the Moslem. After the Moslem came the sturdy and cunning Mahratta from the south, who still retains it under the protecting wings of England. Under the sway of the Mahrattas, Malwa, during the early years of the present century, was the theatre of anarchy and bloodshed, which have been terminated only by British interference. Nor is it at all probable that Malwa will receive any good at the hands of its Mahratta rulers. Descendants of Sivaji, warlike, adventurous, delighting in muscular strength, and guiltless of mental culture, they have hitherto given no proofs of administrative ability, whatever skill they may have shown in the field of battle. Mahrattas may take countries, they cannot rule them. They are good soldiers, but bad statesmen. "Overturn," not build, is their motto. They are locusts, not silk-worms. In the list of the Mahratta rulers of Malwa, there is only one name worthy of regard, and that name a woman's name. Amid the jealousies, the strifes, the drunken revels, the enormities of the Holkars and the Scindias, it is delightful to read of the justice, the sagacity, the goodness of an Ahalya Bai, commonly called by English historians Alia Bye, whose mild administration and acts of beneficent piety are enshrined in the memories of the inhabitants of Malwa, and whose name has become literally a household word in all India. Malwa has no hope except in annexation.

The land of Kali Das has no Christian Missions. From the Chumbal to the Tapti there is no mission station, no Christian school, no preaching place. It is owing partly, perhaps, to the country being under native rule, and partly to the anarchy and confusion that reigned there for years, that missions have not been established. But the Ægis of British protection is at all times a sure and sufficient safe-guard. Two vigorous missions, one at Gwalior and the other at Indore, with branches and out-stations in other important places, with the usual apparatus of English and vernacular schools, oral preaching and the press, would greatly contribute towards the regeneration of a land which was at one time the chief seat of Sanscrit learning.

From Indore I went to the military station of Mhow. Situated on a spur of the Vindhya mountains, 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, the Gunbir river flowing past it, Mhow makes a noble appearance. The cantonments are built on a rising ground;

the hills bound the horizon on three sides, and the steeple of the station Church shoots its head into the skies. Mhow is the last place in this side of Central India, where Bengali Babus are seen employed as writers in connection with Government offices. Into the Bombay Presidency they do not enter. As good writers, as intelligent and faithful assistants, they are employed in all Government offices from Calcutta to Peshawar, from Katmandoo to Mhow. A Bengali Babu is the Englishman's right hand in the North-West. Hence Bengalis are found in all parts of the Bengal Presidency. Benares alone contains ten thousand Bengalis; and the cities of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Lahore are full of them. Bengali writers keep accounts in the residencies of Nepaul and Indore; Bengali Babus manage almost the whole of the subordinate business of the Railway in the North-West as in Bengal; Bengali sub-assistant surgeons lance boils at Debrooghur and at Rawl Pindie; Bengali Dak Munshis do the work of the Post Office at Sepree and Sibsagur; Bengali overseers construct roads in the wilds of Assam and the mountains of Sikkim; Bengali teachers instruct the youth of Benares and of Lahore; Bengali telegraphers flash intelligence from one end of the country to the other; and Bengali Missionaries proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the Hindustani, the Punjabee, and the Sindian. Before leaving Calcutta, I was told that on going to the North-West, my good opinion of my countrymen would be considerably diminished, as I would there meet with a nobler people. The opposite is the fact. In what respect are the people of the North-West,—the people of Hindustan proper,—superior to those of Bengal? In physical force, in the dimensions of their corporeal forms, in brutal strength,—that is to say, in exactly those qualities in which elephants, tigers and bears excel rational beings. In the North-West they have more of the body, in Bengal we have more of the mind. In the North-West they employ Bengalis in situations requiring mental effort; in Bengal we employ Hindustanis to keep our gates, and in all other posts requiring physical force. Hindustanis are the Lacedæmonians, Bengalis the Athenians of India. Hindustanis are locomotives, Bengalis engineers.

I left Mhow in a country cart. The respectability of my gigs was inversely as my distance from Calcutta. I left Ranee-gunge in a palki gari; I left Agra in a keranchi; I left Mhow in a country cart. The cart was about six feet long and three broad. A *chhopper* of sliced bamboos, rudely tied together, served as a protection from the sun. I strewed the cart with some bundles of grass upon which I spread my quilt. The driver and my luggage occupied half the length of the cart,

in the other half I stowed myself,—sometimes sitting cross-legged; sometimes leaning against the portmanteau; sometimes lying on my side, my body being then bent like a bow; and sometimes lying down, fully stretched on my back, in which case my legs were seen dangling outside the cart. The Vindhya mountains appeared full in view. That remarkable range of hills, stretching from Guzerat to Rajmahal, and “uniting the northern extremities of the two lateral ranges (the Eastern and Western Ghauts), forms as it were the base of the triangle which supports the table-land of Southern India.” The alpine scenery of the Vindhya hills, when I was crossing them, was magnificent. Thanks to the British Government, the pass is a fine metalled road, now crowning the tops, now girdling the waist, now kissing the feet of the hills. As you drive along this serpentine causeway, you look up, and hills upon hills frown over your head; you look down, and a vast ravine, a primeval chasm of nature, is beneath your feet, and you feel nervous lest the bullocks should jump over the little stone parapet, and you fall into the abyss below; on your right and left are rugged eminences of varied height; and beyond as far as your eye can reach, you see rocks upon rocks in never-ending succession.

I was on the banks of the Nerbudda, the Narmada of the Purans, at midnight. The heavens were gemmed with stars, but there was no moon. The river lay still, like a strong man, locked in deep sleep. The banks appeared high and steep, but darkness covered the whole. The next day, passing through Sindwa, I came to the Satpura hills. These mountains, separating the valley of the Nerbudda from that of the Tapti, have a bold, romantic and savage appearance. They were more thickly wooded than any mountains I had previously seen. Besides the lofty trees on their sides and bases, they were covered with long grass; while, not unfrequently, the sable trunks of half consumed trees, with their leafless and coal-black branches, were seen standing on the hill-side,—fit emblems of the desolation reigning around.

While I was changing-bullocks at a station, the Munshi of the *Tuppal* came to me and said, “If you must proceed this night, take care that you do not fall asleep in the cart; go on talking with the driver; there are a great many tigers in these jungles.” “Do those tigers,” I asked, “often come down to the road-side and attack travellers?” “O yes, every now and then, they attack the Tuppal bullocks.” “Do they ever carry away men?” “Yes, sometimes.” I left the station with a throbbing heart. It was pitch dark. The bullocks, with ringing bells round their necks, went on slowly, and, as I thought,

reluctantly, as if conscious of the existence of unmannerly neighbours in the vicinity. The wheels clattered on the rocky road, and produced an echo amongst the encompassing hills. Agreeably to the advice of the Tuppal men, I entered into conversation with the cart-driver as freely as our capacities to understand each other allowed. As my Jehu was rather of a dull temperament, the conversation flagged, and we both became drowsy. Suddenly the cart stopped. "What's that?" I asked. The cart-man coolly replied, "I think we are not upon the right road; please take hold of the reins, and let me go forward a few paces, and see where we are." The man alighted, walked on about fifty paces, stood still, and began to speak in a whispering tone towards the bush. My surprise may be imagined. Presently the man turned back, and continued whispering as he advanced towards the cart, though no other mortal was visible. I concluded the man had a habit of thinking aloud. He came up and told me, that we were upon a wrong road, and that we should have to go back fully a mile. We had not retreated many paces, when a loud noise, on our left and on the proper road, arrested our attention. I distinctly heard the growl of a tiger, the loud bellowing of bullocks, next the shriek of a man, the bellowing of bullocks yet louder than before, then the crash and clatter of wheels away from the road towards the hills. The circumstances needed no explanation. I thanked God for the deliverance brought about by the blunder of a stupid carter.

The next morning I crossed the Tapti. The water was only knee-deep. From Surat to the sea the river is navigable. I had entered Candeish. On both sides of the road, began to appear fields covered with wheat, jowari, bajri, the cotton and castor-oil plants, and pulse of various sorts. Next day, hills destitute of jungle and uninfested by ferocious beasts, began to be visible. The Chandore range of mountains has a most striking appearance, while the town of Chandore is one of the prettiest places I have seen. Its fort is situated on the inaccessible summit of a hill. I passed through Nassik—Nasiká, nose, so called from the circumstance that the legendary Lakshman, when wandering in the jungles of Western India in search of Sita, his brother's wife, cut off the nose of Surpanakha, the sister of the ten-headed king of Ceylon. The whole of the 18th of November, I spent in crossing the Western Ghauts, which are now the scene of human activity. The railway engineers are there, blasting the everlasting hills with gunpowder. The railway is the pioneer of civilization. I may say of it, what the prophet says of the Evangelical pioneer, "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill

shall be made low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." I mounted at Wassind the iron horse, which snorted away on level plains, on rocky roads, through tunnels in the mountains, and on causeway erected across the sea, and alighted at the Byculla station of Bombay.

Washed on all sides by the ocean, its noble harbour a forest of masts, the fort adorned with neat edifices, its streets crowded with a picturesque population, the wooded hills graced with gay bungalows, Bombay is one of the finest cities in India. The beautiful scenery of the island-city must always arrest the attention of a Bengali traveller. Hills, forests, and the ocean furnish the materials of rich scenery ; and these are all to be had in Bombay. The forests of the palm, the coconut, the date and the betel-nut, which abound in the vicinity of the city are extremely beautiful ; the Khambala, Malabar, Worlie and other hills, gracefully wooded, their flanks and tops crowned with white cottages, are an enchanting vision ; while the circumambient waters, laving the ribs of a thousand hearts of oak, and girdling the waists of several sister-islets, present one of the most superb sights in the world. I had gone up the two hundred steps of one of the minars of Aurungzebe's Mosque in the city of Benares, and looked with delight at the Holy City, as it lay beneath my feet, with its thousand temples, and its ten thousand stone edifices ; I had, from the minaret on the Chabootra of the fairy Taj Mehal, seen Agra and the surrounding country in all their glory ; but nothing could exceed the rapture I felt when, standing on the highest point of the Malabar Hill, there burst on my entranced eye-sight the lovely prospect of Bombay with its blue waters, and its green hills. Bombay, like Allahabad, is a straggling city ; its several parts, the Fort, Mazagaon, Byculla, Girgaum, Malabar, Khamballa, Worlie, Parell, Kolaba, are all distant from one another. The fort, improperly so called, is *the* city. Of all parts of Bombay, it is the most important. Merchants have their houses of agency there ; the churches of several denominations of Christians are there ; the best shops are there ; the town-hall, with its splendid library, is there ; and all the business of the gigantic commerce of forty millions sterling a year, is transacted within its bounds.

One of the most remarkable sights in the streets of Bombay is the dress, and particularly the head-dress, of its diversified population. In Calcutta, you meet thousands who are clothed only in *dhuuti*, the rest of the body remaining naked ; in Bombay, every native is decently clothed. In the streets of Calcutta, you see a nation completely bare-headed ; in the streets of Bombay, you do not meet with a single mortal who has

not head-dress, of some kind or other. There is the sturdy, square-built Mahratta, with his *dhatur* and *angarkhan*, carrying on his head a huge red turban, which may answer the purposes of an umbrella as well as a hat;—the “broad circumference” hanging on his head

————— Like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening from the top of Fesole,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers or mountains, in her spotty globe.

You admire the fair Parsi in his snow-white robes, and wonder at the taste displayed in his head-dress,—a solidified mass of glazed dark-brown chintz, calculated to serve no purpose, either of utility or of ornament. You see thousands of the lower classes in the streets, and chiefly in the shipping, with striped skull caps on their heads. The Marwaris, the kinsmen of those who abound in the Burra Bazar of our own ‘city of palaces,’ with their peculiar head-dress meet your eye. The Khojas, the Memuns, the Borahs, show themselves off in their peculiar white turban; while the Bhattias, and the Bunniahs have their *pugries* carefully plaited and cornuted at the sides and in front.

The two languages, chiefly spoken in the island of Bombay, are the Mahrathi and the Gujarati. The Mahrattas, who speak the former of these two languages, and who constitute by far the major part of the population of Bombay, are, in many respects, a fine race. Physically viewed, though inferior to the people of Hindustan proper in grace, in symmetry, and stalwartness, they are far superior to our countrymen in muscular strength and activity; and psychologically viewed, they partake of the subtlety and the depth of the Hindu mind. Staunch upholders of Hinduism, they have viewed with suspicion the introduction of European ideas, and have, in consequence, made less progress in refinement than some other races which inhabit the Indian continent. When their minds, however, are liberalized by knowledge, and purified by the influences of a holier and a truer faith, they will become a noble nation. The Bunniahs, and Bhattiahs, who speak the Gujarati language, the purest form of which is spoken at Ahmedabad, are mild, industrious and active, busily engaged in trade, and extremely superstitious. Their humanity to the brute creation is proverbial; and their pinjrapols, or hospitals for animals, ranging from the stately elephant to the humble bug, are amongst the most interesting sights of Bombay and of Surat. Amongst the Gujarati speaking population, the Parsis form, perhaps, the most important class; and considering the paucity of their number,

they are probably the most influential portion of the native community of Bombay. The history of this singular people is full of interest.

Followers of Zoroaster, their ancestors were obliged, like the pilgrim-fathers of the Western world, to forsake their homes in Persia, when that country was invaded by the Mussulman Kaliphs in the seventh century of the Christian era. For obtaining liberty to worship the God of their fathers in their own way, they repaired to the mountains of Khorasan, where they remained a hundred years. Thence they went to Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, and, building ships, they left their country for ever, and landed in the isle of Diu or Diva, to the south-west of the peninsula of Gujarat. By the permission of the Hindu king reigning in those parts, they at last settled themselves in Sanjan, in the south of Gujarat, whence they have since overspread the whole of Western India. They continue to maintain the tenets of the Zoroastrian faith, they keep up the sacred fire of Behram in their *agiaris* or fire-temples, they expose their dead in their Dokhmas or towers of silence, and, in their manners and social usages, are different from the natives of Western India. They are a most energetic and enterprising race. They are amongst the richest merchants of Bombay, they have their houses of agency in the commercial metropolis of the world, and their youth are gaining honours in the University of London.

English education is not so high in Bombay as in Bengal. In that matter we, Bengalis, have beaten all the other natives of India hollow. But the Malrattas and the Parsis are fast coming up to us, and, if we do not take care, will overtake us. In female education, in the meantime, they have left us behind. Their girls' schools are crowded with daughters of men of the highest respectability; at the examination of those schools a Governor has sometimes presided; while an illustrated Parsi monthly publication, the *Stribodha*, intended only for Parsi ladies, has a subscription list containing the names of upwards of a thousand.

I have thus, Sir, very briefly, and I fear, very imperfectly, given to this meeting an account of my journey to Bombay through Northern and Central India. Allow me in conclusion to make one remark. Wherever I travelled, whether on the hills of Behar, the level plains of the North-West, the table-land of Central India, or the heights of the Western Ghauts, I felt happy in the thought, that India was now in the hands of England. India is one of the richest and finest countries in the world; and her undeveloped resources are infinite. For the development of those resources, and for the amelioration and

regeneration of her innumerable inhabitants, she is at present utterly unqualified. If there be any country in the world which is equal to such a task, it is England—England, the protectress of liberty, the patroness of improvement, the nurse of the arts and sciences, and the guardian of true religion. And it is to me a matter of unspeakable thankfulness to the God of Providence, who is the Sovereign Disposer of all events, that India is connected with England. England has already done good to India, and is destined to do immensely greater. With the helping hand of England, India will yet rise, and take that position in the scale of nations, which Providence has evidently destined for her. To England, therefore, I would say in the words of one of her own poets,—

“Pursue thy glorious course. Be this thy art,
Not to corrupt, but meliorate the heart ;
Where'er mankind in Gentile darkness lie,
Instruction's blessed radiance to supply ;
O'er the oppressed, soft mercy's dew to shed,
And crush with ruin the oppressor's head.”

And in the prospect of those better days which shall ere long dawn upon India, I would join in the noble aspirations of the same Christian poet—

“O haste your tardy coming, days of gold,
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold !
Where yon bright purple streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion, rise !
Till, from Tanjore to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land :
And (Brahma from his guilty greatness hurl'd
With Mecca's lord) Messiah rule the world.”



THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE:

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF
CALCUTTA.

I remember that, years ago, when I was quite a young man, still at College, I was invited in one of my vacations to a large dinner party. Accident placed me at table next to a gentleman in a very high position in the world, and who was besides a great scholar and philosopher, but rather apt to overpower people in conversation by exacting a most scrupulous attention to the rules of logic and rhetoric, and forcing them to analyse and define every expression which they used, in accordance with the laws of Aristotle and Aldrich. He had just come from Ireland, and had been pouring forth to the general company a flood of very interesting information on the condition and prospects of that country. Partly perhaps from an interest in academical subjects, partly from the general desire of saying something, whether it is worth saying or not, which is a common vice of young men, I ventured, with much hesitation, when the general talk on Ireland had ceased, to ask, *What sort of a place is the University of Dublin?* A formidable pause ensued, during which my neighbour appeared plunged in thought. At last he poured forth in a deep bass voice a torrent of objections to my question. *What do you mean, my young friend? How do you expect me to answer you? You do not define what you want to know. Do you ask what the buildings of the University are like, or what is the character of the education, or what is the state of the discipline, or whether learning flourishes among the tutors and professors, or what is the general tone of the theology or politics of the place? Or do you enquire about the origin and history of the University? You should define your question more exactly: you should analyse your own intention in asking it, and separate it into its component parts. I cannot answer it, as you have put it to me. I need hardly say that I was quite dumb-founded; utterly un-*

prepared to go through a process of logical analysis between the meat and the pudding, that I repented bitterly of having entered upon any conversation at all with such a formidable critic of words and thoughts, and that I resolved never again to ask any body any question for the mere purpose of making talk. Yet you will say that I have forgotten this lesson of early life, and that I have undertaken to do for you what my logical neighbour assured me was impossible. For when your President invited me to give a lecture here, and to choose my subject, I mentioned the University of Cambridge, i. e. I offered to tell my hearers *what sort of a place it is*. You therefore may rise up with a chorus: *Define, Analyse, Distribute into categories*, and I am afraid that I began to arrange my lecture with no intention of doing so, no adequate appreciation of the task before me. Perhaps indeed, on consideration, I am tempted in some degree to defend not only my present subject, but even the question which I put in my innocence a quarter of a century ago. For neither a dinner party, nor a popular lecture delivered at the end of a long hot Bengal day, should be confounded with a school or college lesson. Such a lecture is intended no doubt to be suggestive, to give the hearers something to think about, and carry away with them, but still it should partake of the character of recreation and diversion, and therefore instead of distributing my remarks very accurately into heads and subjects, I will content myself with saying generally that my hope is to convey to you some popular notion of what Cambridge looks like, how it came to be what it is, and what is the general character and result of the life there led. Such a lecture, I hope, may be interesting to you, among other reasons, especially for this, that as several here present, including you^f President, myself, and many who belong to this society, are fellow members of one of the youngest Universities in the world, it is well that we should know something about one of the oldest.

First then, to begin, not perhaps in the most logical, but certainly in the most natural order of enquiry, what does the University of Cambridge look like? And here at once you must turn your thoughts altogether from our infant University here, for if any one were to ask, *What does the University of Calcutta look like?* it would be very hard to answer the question, for it has scarcely any outward form or feature at all. There is no building to give it a local habitation, or to furnish its graduates and students with pictorial or photographic reminiscences. A week ago indeed the external forms and features of its Chancellor, Fellows, and Bachelors of Arts, were assembled for its annual meeting in the Town Hall. But we were

only lodgers or tenants at will in a building which is not ours, whereas the University of Cambridge spreads out its capacious limbs over a large English town of 30,000 inhabitants. The country around is not beautiful; being part of the uniform uninteresting plain which extends over a large portion of the eastern counties of England. There is a story that a rustic, travelling south from Lincolnshire, which is also part of the same plain, gazed with great awe and admiration on a low artificial mound upon which Cambridge Castle once stood, and exclaimed *How beautiful! That is the first mountain that I ever saw*: the force of which remark you may realize if you can imagine a native of Jessore or Kedgerce making the same observation when he first gazed on the glacis of Fort William. Through this somewhat dreary and desolate flat, only varied here and there by pretty groups of trees, under which the villages nestle, each with its church tower, and generally its ancient manor house rising above it, the river Cam flows lazily along in a narrow channel to join the Ouse, a little above the city of Ely, the seat of one of the most magnificent of English cathedrals: and on its banks, about eighteen miles from the junction, stands the town of Cambridge. It has been said of our two great English seats of learning that Cambridge is a University in a town, Oxford a town in a University. This would be true if we were making a comparison between them, for the city of Oxford is more entirely encircled by the University buildings than Cambridge, but still it would give a false impression, if we compare Cambridge with any other seat of learning, for the English Universities are in this respect quite peculiar, that they absolutely absorb by the multitude of their buildings the towns with which they are connected. This arises from their peculiar constitution as federal republics, each consisting of a great many separate societies or colleges. Originally it was not so in England, any more than in any other country. Students of Oxford and Cambridge lived in lodgings and attended lectures, but in process of time colleges were founded, in which the students were lodged and where they were prepared by private instruction for the University lectures. Of these colleges, between A. D. 1257, the date of the earliest, and A. D. 1800 the latest foundation, seventeen have been established at Cambridge, each occupying a considerable space of ground, with its chapel, dining hall, and library, its house for the principal or master, as he is generally called, its rooms for the teachers and taught, and its pretty and often very extensive garden and pleasure grounds. Besides these, there are the public buildings left to the University itself, a senate house for meetings of the legislative body and for con-

ferring degrees and other ceremonials, a church in which Sermons are preached to the whole University (the students attending prayers in their several college chapels), a library of great size entitled by law to a copy of every book published in Great Britain, and endowed with large funds to buy the publications of foreign countries, a printing press, museum, a picture gallery, a botanic garden, schools for holding examinations, and lecture rooms for the professors. Moreover the number of students and teachers resident in the University must be about two thousand, besides their various servants and dependents of different kinds, so that you can understand that the University completely engrosses and overshadows the town. In fact originally the municipal authorities were placed in entire subjection to the Vice-Chancellor and University officers. Queen Elizabeth gave to the Chancellor, masters and scholars of the University, exclusive cognizance of actions for debt and breaches of the peace within the precincts of the University, in all cases where a master, or scholar, or servant of the University is one of the parties, and the Vice-Chancellor was authorized to hold a court in which such cases might be tried. On the election of the mayor and other officers of the town of Cambridge, they were obliged to appear before the Vice-Chancellor, (formerly with ropes round their waists to mark their actual serfdom in academical eyes), swear to observe and keep the liberties and customs of the University, and never unduly or of malice impugn them. The Vice-Chancellor has the power of a magistrate within the town and county of Cambridge, and he exercises further an extensive jurisdiction over disorderly characters, secured to him and his subordinate officers by charter, completely independent of the municipal authorities.

The outward sign and symbol of this preponderance is seen in the distribution of the academical buildings all over the town, though they chiefly absorb the principal street, running parallel to the river Cam. These buildings are of various dates and various styles. If we include among them the town churches, which we fairly may, since nearly all are dependent on the University, the clergyman of each being appointed by some college from among its own members, we begin from the earliest ages of English history. For there is a church tower of Saxon times, another ancient round church of Norman architecture, built by the Templars in imitation of the sepulchre of the Lord Jesus Christ at Jerusalem, while the grand old church of an ancient convent with most graceful pointed arches, has been appropriated as the chapel of Jesus' College. Of a somewhat later date, we notice first and foremost the magnificent

chapel of King's College, begun by Henry VI. and finished by Henry VIII. and still adorned with the initials H. A. united by a true lover's-knot, to commemorate his unhappy union with Anne Boleyn. Then we pass to the vast buildings of Trinity College, ranged round three spacious quadrangles, the dining hall for the students recalling exactly the features of some of the old baronial halls of feudal castles, and then to more modern buildings of the 17th and 18th centuries, till we come at last to a very successful specimen of Grecian architecture, in the splendid Fitzwilliam museum for paintings and sculpture, which is the latest addition to the magnificence of Cambridge. The town itself, being far from picturesque, with its narrow streets and red and white brick houses, is a somewhat unworthy framework for so grand a series of varied architecture, but much has lately been done to clear away deformities, and open out spaces round the finer buildings, and there is especially one feature, partly due to art and partly to nature, in which Cambridge is almost unrivalled. The college gardens, planted with glorious old trees, limes, chestnuts, and elms, are all contiguous to each other, and stretch in an uninterrupted series, one opening out of the other, along the river sides, the towers and gates grouping beautifully with the foliage. Our own Bishop's College is by no means a bad imitation of one of the smaller Cambridge Colleges. It is true that Bishop's College stands on one of the noblest rivers of the world, while the Cam is a sluggish puny stream in which a boat of any size can scarcely turn round, but still you will have some good notion of the appearance of the prettiest part of Cambridge, if you fancy the Hooghly contracted to about a twentieth part of its width, and crossed by several bridges, deprived of course of all its steamers and merchant vessels, but still studded by a few boats, the dingies and bolios of England, while a series of Bishop's Colleges, shaded by many trees, stretch along its back, and the towers of the Churches and other buildings of the town, are seen rising behind them.

Such then is a very meagre stretch of the present architectural and natural features of Cambridge, and the next point considered shall be, how it came to be what it is? What was the origin of the University? Perhaps, however, before I answer the question, it will be well if I shortly explain the origin of Universities generally, and the meaning of the term. The twelfth century is a great epoch in European history. It marks the complete restoration and settlement of Europe from the barbarian conquest, the first attempt to break through the darkness of the middle ages, the beginning of that vigorous pursuit of learning and literature which has continued uninter-

rupted to our own day. In that century the study of law and theology revived, medicine became a science, the learning of the Arabs passed into Europe, modern languages which had arisen from the intermixture of the Latin and Northern tongues began to be reduced to form, and poets sprang up in abundance. This new life is attributed by some to the excitement of the Crusades. However this may be, it shewed itself in a general effort to establish Universities. Many explanations have been given of this word, of which I will notice two only to refute them, because the errors on which they are founded are instructive. Some Englishmen, taking their notions of a University from their own country only, have said that a University is a collection of Colleges, a whole or universal whereof the Colleges are the parts. But this is disproved by the fact that many Universities exist in which there are no colleges. Such is the case for instance with the German and Scotch Universities, and even in England the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge existed before a single college was founded, and would continue to exist if all the colleges were suppressed, their property confiscated, and their buildings destroyed. For students might still attend the lectures of the University professors, and receive degrees, though no rooms were provided by a college for their lodging, no halls for their common meals, no chapels for their common worship. I mention this derivation therefore, in order that you may learn from it to notice more exactly this particular feature of English Universities that they, and speaking generally only they, are in fact, though not in theory, collections of colleges. The other derivation which we shall reject is founded on a yet more serious blunder. Some people, who maintain that education consist in cramming down the throat of its victims a hodgepodge and omniumgatherum of all kinds of undigested and indigestible knowledge, have maintained that *University* is derived from universal, because everything is taught there, and have actually used this false etymology as an argument for reverting to what they supposed was its original intention, and for constantly adding fresh subjects to its lectures and examinations. But the derivation is quite wrong. The Latin word *universitas* means a corporation, one whole formed out of many individuals. It was used in Roman law for an association of persons, also called a *college*, and a *body*, who might hold and acquire property in common, to be applied to any purpose which the nature of the association required. Thus there were universities or corporations of scribes, and of publicans or farmers of the imperial revenue; in the middle ages we find the word applied to a town having a municipal government, to a

number of churches united under the superintendence of one Archdeacon, nay even to the kingdom of France as a body politic, comprising all the king's subjects in an organized community. Pope Innocent III. applied it to the teachers and learners of the schools of Paris, and thence it was extended to all educational bodies which had the power of conferring degrees, and to this kind of corporation the use of the term has in modern time been limited.

Such then was the origin of the word University, and, as I have said, the dawn of intellectual light in the twelfth century was the origin of the thing. In order to diffuse the new or restored learning of that age, a variety of new schools were founded, and some old ones which had been attached to churches or monasteries, and were dragging on a languishing existence, were invigorated with a new life. To Paris especially, where there had long been a school belonging to the church of St. Genevieve, vast crowds of learned men resorted; among them the famous Abelard, and around them collected still greater crowds of hearers, so that it soon occurred to the Pope and clergy, with whom rested all the learning of the times, that some regulations must be framed to determine who were competent to give instruction in the various branches of knowledge, and especially in theology. Accordingly the chancellor or head of the Parisian school was empowered to grant licenses for the purpose, and the dignity of *master* or *doctor* (that is merely *teacher*), was established and sanctioned by law. To this soon after was added another title, (to which we admitted some of our Hindu friends last week) that of *bachelor*, a name apparently derived from the institutions of chivalry, in which a knight bachelor (*chevalier bachelier*) was the humblest order of knight, distinguished from a knight banneret. The possessions of a banneret were so ample that he not only appeared in arms himself, but brought followers into the field to fight under his unfurled banner. But a bachelor had no followers, and unfurled no banner, his estate only enabled him to arm himself. Such a moderate estate was called a *baccalare*, (why, I cannot tell you,) the owner of it a *baccalarius* or *bachelor*, and then the same title was applied metaphorically to the lowest order of academical graduate, as it is also in common English applied to the lowest order of the genus man, that is, one who is not blest with a wife.

So strong was the impulse given to learning by the general movement of the human mind in this century, that it extended to ladies, and one of the Universities which came into existence, that of Bologna, admitted them to its honours and offices and degrees. One lady is said to have delivered lec-

tures there on Civil law, with a curtain drawn before her, another taught mathematics, a third was professor of Greek, and one strong-minded damsel went so far as to lecture on anatomy. As far as I know, this Italian University alone was sufficiently comprehensive to include both sexes, but in other respects the movement was universal. It crossed the narrow seas and extended to England. Oxford, most probably, like Paris, was a more ancient school, then enlarged and re-constituted; but Cambridge seems to have originated in that age, and its foundation is of a very unpretending character. In the county of Lincoln, some sixty or seventy miles from Cambridge, still stand in the midst of fens and corn-fields the remains of Croyland Abbey, which, like other monasteries, was suppressed at the Reformation. Part of it was preserved as the Church of the parish of Croyland, part, though roofless and useless, yet, with its grand pointed arches and rows of mutilated statues, is an object of great interest and admiration to the antiquarian. The monks of Croyland had estates in various parts of England, and amongst other places at Cottenham, a village very near Cambridge, now much beloved and honoured by English gourmands from the excellence of its cheese. Hither, in 1109, the abbot Joffred sent four French monks who had come with him to England from the great school of Orleans, and from Cottenham they daily walked over to Cambridge. There they hired a barn, made open profession of the sciences, and in less than two years the numbers of their scholars increased so much, that no house, barn, or church could be found big enough to hold them all. Upon this they dispersed themselves in different parts of the town and each opened separate classes. We can tell pretty well what they taught. All the learning of the time was communicated in two courses, called the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, the first including grammar, logic and rhetoric; the second arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These were the seven liberal arts; and you will see from this fact that, speaking generally, all study was rightly considered in that early day, as in the present, to be based upon the two great foundations of language and mathematics. Music indeed has for a long time fallen from its honourable station, but latterly we in England have shewn a considerable inclination to revive it as an instrument of education, and indeed, the principles of the laws of sound on which it is founded have, I suppose, always been included in mathematical science. We are expressly told that of the four Croyland monks at Cambridge, three laid the intellectual foundation of the University by devoting themselves to the three arts of

the Trivium, while Gislebert at once stamped it with its Christian character, by preaching to the people on Sundays and holidays.

From these small beginnings arose the University of Cambridge. Great indeed is the alteration since the day when the four poor monks, with their long serge gowns, rosaries, girdles and sandals, walked over from Cottenham to teach the Trivium in their hired barn. Take for instance, as a mark of the contrast, such a scene as that in July, 1847, when the Queen of England, sat enthroned in its senate house to witness the installation of her husband into the high and coveted office of its Chancellor, surrounded by all who were most famous in politics, in war, in science, and in learning. Or, again take that annual ceremony which occurred about six weeks ago, yet more remarkably illustrative of the noblest characteristic of Cambridge, when a young man, this year of quite humble birth, the son of a poorly endowed Christian minister in a country town, was led up amidst the deafening applause of the whole University, students, tutors and professors alike, to receive the highest mathematical honour. Or think over the long roll of glorious names, among the most illustrious in English history, whom Cambridge claims as her children: among theologians, all the great Reformers of the sixteenth century; among men of science Bacon and Newton; among rulers, Oliver Cromwell and William Pitt; in poetry and literature, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Macaulay. Or let me quote to you the lines in which another poet, the greatest now living, and only inferior to one of those who adorned the University before him, has embodied some of his recollections of his life at Cambridge:

"I past beside the reverend walls,
In which of old I wore the gown;
I roved at random through the town,
And saw the tumult of the halls.

"And heard once more in College fanes
The storm their high built organs make;
And thunder music rolling shake
The prophets blazoned on the panes.

"And caught once more the distant shout,
The measured pulse of rowing oars,
Among the willows, paced the shores,
And many a bridge, and all about

"The same grey flats again, and felt
The same, but not the same, and last
Up that long walks of times I past
To see the rooms wherein he dwelt.

"Where once we held debate, a band
Of youthful friends, on mind, and art,
And labour, and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the laud."*

Such is the splendour and such the influence of the Cambridge of our day. Such is the edifice of which the Croyland monks laid the foundation seven hundred years ago. It is hard to say when it first attracted general attention, and how it passed from a monastic school to a national University. The earliest charter which can be traced as authentic is of the reign of king Henry III.; but this does not found the University, but recognizes it as already existing, with an organized constitution. Of the colleges which were gradually endowed for the promotion of piety and learning under a well ordered system of internal discipline, and for affording assistance towards the maintenance of their students, the two largest and most illustrious are St. John's and Trinity, the first founded by lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII. the second endowed by Henry VIII. from the spoils of suppressed monasteries; the first perhaps specially famed for its encouragement to science, the second more particularly for literature, yet still boasting of Bacon and Newton among its members; the first containing in 1859, 294 undergraduate students, the second 496. In each of the other 15 colleges the average number of students is about 50; the largest, Caius College, having 106, the smallest, Downing, 6 only.

But the two most definite epochs in the history of Cambridge, have marked the two great female reigns of English history, those of Elizabeth and Victoria. The former sovereign incorporated it under the title of "the Chancellor, Masters and scholars of the University of Cambridge," and a body of statutes was given which has governed it till within the last year or two, when a change was consummated and legalized which had long been in preparation, or rather in progress. It is plain that a body of laws which regulated a place of education in the sixteenth century, could hardly be applicable in all their details to the nineteenth century. The progress of knowledge and discovery must supersede some books and substitute others. There are indeed some writers, the great masters of literature in the languages selected as the basis of education, like Homer, Plato, Tacitus, and those again who laid the foundation of demonstrative science, such as Euclid and Newton, who can never be superseded, and whose works take their place among permanent studies. But we must not allow our education to be-

* Tennyson. *In Memoriam*.

come stationary, or to fall behind the knowledge of the age ; so that by the side of these a certain space must be allotted to progressive studies, in which the subjects taught should be brought up to their present condition, and the books on which our students are employed, should mark the most recent epoch in each branch of knowledge. So too, the academical discipline, contemplated in old statutes, was founded on a state of society different from that which prevails in England now. It has been common to make a good deal of fun of these obsolete regulations, and I might here entertain you with many absurd stories of the rules which nominally bound under-graduates down to our own day, how they were forbidden to play at marbles on the steps of the Senate house, how no one might walk out in the town except in the company of his tutor, how the orders of the authorities were enforced by a solemn muster of a whole college in their hall on Friday, when a public flogging was administered to every one who had been a defaulter during the week, while those who absented themselves from this pleasing exhibition, were themselves scourged in like manner on the following Friday. I mention these things, not to make you laugh, but to explain to you one change, perhaps the greatest of all, which has come over the University in these last three centuries, and which will account for the necessity of an alteration in the method of its government. We sometimes read with astonishment of the enormous number of students who frequented the Universities in old times. We are told, for instance, that Oxford was thronged by "fabulous multitudes"* of students, certainly by many thousands. But the fact is, that these were mere boys ; there were scarcely any primary schools in the country before the reformation of religion, and boys thronged up to Oxford and Cambridge to receive the education which is now given in the numerous public and private schools scattered all over England. Even after these introductory seminaries were founded, the age for entering at the University was two or three years lower than it is now : Milton, for example, was admitted a member of Christ's College at sixteen ; but in still earlier times students began their academical career at twelve or fourteen.

Hence you see that the discipline was intended, not for young men of ages varying from 18 to 22, but for boys, and therefore the prohibition against playing marbles was not so entirely unmeaning, nor the corporal correction of a student so perfectly monstrous then as it would be now. Other changes too have come over Great Britain. The country used to be very much split up by provincial boundaries and prejudices. Scotch-

*. Report of the Oxford University Commission, 1852.

men and Englishmen were not fellow subjects till the reign of James I. not fellow countrymen till that of Anne: and even in England itself the difficulties of locomotion were so great that a journey from York to London, now an affair of some eight hours, took a fortnight, and a careful *paterfamilias*, before starting on so perilous an expedition, thought it prudent to make his will. Hence a man's sympathies were naturally very much bound up with his own neighbourhood, his own country, his own city or parish, and thus local ties almost superseded national. So it happened that the founders and benefactors of colleges encumbered their munificence by many restrictions and local limitations, which hindered the election of the fittest man for collegiate appointments, enacting for instance that the fellows (or governing body) and scholars might only be chosen from particular parts of the kingdom, and thus the great prizes for learning, and means of supporting students which they instituted instead of being bestowed on the best competitor absolutely, could only be given to a man born South of the River Trent for example, or to a Yorkshireman perhaps, or again (in order to prevent local partiality on the part of the electors) that no more than two natives of any one county might hold fellowships at the same time. There is a story of a gentleman who, finding that the county of Lancaster was specially rich in these appropriated endowments, always hurried his wife within its borders when she was expecting an addition to her family. Eight times, it is said, he did so, and eight times she presented him with a daughter, who, as Oxford and Cambridge were less liberal and gallant to the fair sex than Bologna, could not be elected a scholar or fellow of the Lancastrian College. On the ninth occasion he said in despair that he would not take any more trouble about it, when, perversely enough, his eldest son chose to make his appearance. England, in fact, in those days was encumbered by the same local feelings on a small scale with those which hamper national development in India now: just as a Punjabi has little sympathy with a Mah-ratta, or a Bengali, or a man of Oudh or Travancore, so Northumberland, and Cornwall, and Norfolk knew little of each other's wants, and feelings, and habits, and we may hope that the same causes which have knit Great Britain into an undivided whole, the progress of knowledge, and the means of communication, and a thousand sources of sympathy, will in due course of time also bind India together from Mount Everest to Cape Comorin. As this union developed, the restrictions on Universities became more and more burdensome and pernicious. No doubt, for all these difficulties caused by antiquated laws regulating education, and discipline, and re-

stricting the free election of the right men for the right places, practical remedies were gradually applied. Sometimes, where it was possible, obsolete statutes were superseded by royal authority, or obscure language liberally interpreted by courts of law, or new regulations made on points within the jurisdiction of the Senate, or of the master and fellows of particular colleges. Still in many cases remedies were found impracticable. The most ludicrous instance of an obsolete rule remaining in full operation, after all possible excuse for it had vanished, occurred at Queen's College, Oxford, founded some five centuries ago, when England and Scotland were engaged in almost constant war, and when the seizure of the Scottish crown by Edward I. had been lately visited by the great retribution of Bannockburn. You know that border forays were very frequent, and that the northern part of one kingdom and the south of the other were constantly laid waste by fire and sword. The founders of Queen's College order that the fellows should be taken from Cumberland and Westmoreland *on account of the recent devastation of these countries by the Scotch*, and this restriction on the freedom of election actually had the force of law from the days of Queen Philippa, after whom the College was named, to the days of Queen Victoria. So about ten years ago there was a general feeling that the time had come for a more systematic and authoritative change in Oxford and Cambridge, and by the joint labours of the Universities themselves and of certain Commissioners appointed by Parliament, excrescences have been lopped off, deficiencies supplied, the obsolete suppressed, the antiquated modernized, while at the same time the customs and tradition of by-gone days have not been despised. Thus a new Cambridge has arisen, mindful of her history, her original purpose, and the great lessons of the past, yet ready and able to adapt herself to the necessities of the present, so as to furnish a fresh example of the peculiar charm and characteristic which an illustrious traveller noticed in our English institutions, when he exclaimed *How happy is this nation, where the new is ever old, and the old is ever new.*

And now having brought what may be called the external history down to this present year 1861, I must try to give you some notion of Cambridge life and education. A student generally begins his academical career at eighteen or nineteen years of age, and having entered as a member of some particular college, according to its special rules, is matriculated as a member of the University without examination, the college presenting him, and being considered responsible for his fitness to profit by the instructions of the place. There are

three classes of teachers at Cambridge. The first are the University professors, often men of great eminence, and bound not merely to deliver lectures, but to advance their respective branches of learning by continued study, and by giving the results of their studies to the world. On their teaching, attendance is so far compulsory that every student, who is not a candidate for honours, is bound in addition to the general examination, to select some one subject out of a given list, to attend a course of the professor's lectures upon it, and to pass an examination in it before he is presented for his degree; the intention being to call out individual tastes, and to enable every man to take an interest in some part of his work, except indeed those hopeless characters who hate all industry and all exertion, and begin life with the deliberate intention of being as useless as they safely can be. "Honour men," however, as they are called, are not compelled to attend the professors' lectures, though of course any popular professor who does his work well seldom fails to fill his lecture room with them. The second class of teachers are the college tutors. These give instruction in the subjects connected with the college and University Examinations: during a man's first year he is compelled to attend daily one lecture in Greek or Latin and one in Mathematics: afterwards this is varied according to the line of studies which each is pursuing. Thirdly, there are the private tutors, Bachelors or Masters of Arts, generally either junior fellows of colleges or men reading for fellowships, who obtain voluntary pupils, in proportion to their reputation as teachers. One of these tutors was so successful that it was thought impossible for any one else to manufacture a senior wrangler, and every one who expected a high place in mathematics became his pupil as a matter of course.

This then is the system of teaching to which a man will be subject when he arrives at the Cambridge railway terminus, puts on his cap and gown, and presents himself at his college as a freshman. But before he can take a degree, he must of course also go through a certain series of examinations. For the sake of saving time, I confine myself to the Faculty of Arts, and shall say nothing of the three other Faculties, Divinity, Law, and Medicine. Students in Arts, (and the Faculty of Arts includes the vast majority of the University) are examined every year in their respective colleges, rewarded if successful by prizes of books and scholarships; if unsuccessful, stigmatized by certain marks of discredit, and indeed in an extreme case the college may refuse to present a man for his degree. But the actual test of fitness for a degree is applied by the University itself. The first ordeal must be passed when a student's

residence is about half over : it is called in the language of gods "the Previous Examination," in that of under-graduates "the Little Go," and corresponds to the First Examination in Arts in our University of Calcutta. In this is exacted a knowledge of a selected portion of the Greek Testament, the Evidences of Christianity, one Greek and one Latin author, Euclid, Arithmetic, Algebra as far as Equations, and some elementary Natural Philosophy. After having safely navigated these straits, the student finds himself in the open sea, and may steer his ship in one of five directions. If he aspires to no distinction, he may take an ordinary degree without honours, in which case he is examined in another portion of the New Testament, English History, and some additional Algebra, Mechanics, and Hydrostatics, besides this he must pass, as I said before, the examination of some one professor, and then perhaps he at last receives the degree of B. A. "unhonoured and unsung." I say *perhaps*, because there is, of course, the formidable alternative that he may be *plucked*. This celebrated word is said to be derived from the old custom, that when a man was about to take his degree a tradesman to whom he owed money, or any one, who had a complaint against him, could make his complaint known to the Proctor (one of the chief officers of discipline in the University) by plucking his sleeve when the name of the offender was read out, which had the effect of delaying the degree till the cause of complaint was removed. Now, however, it merely means that the victim is rejected by the examiners for idleness or ignorance. But of course a man who has any energy and ambition in him, will not only take good care to avoid this disaster, but will refuse merely to creep to his end without distinction. He will take his degree by obtaining honours in one or more of four branches of learning. First, he may choose mathematics, of course involving a knowledge of their very highest applications, and the powers of working out original problems. Or, secondly, he may take classics, including translations at sight from any Greek or Latin author, compositions both in prose and verse in the two languages, and questions in ancient history. Thirdly, he may select Moral Sciences, under which head are reckoned Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Modern History, General Jurisprudence, and the Laws of England. Or lastly, he may seek honours in Natural Sciences, including Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Botany, and Geology. The students who satisfy the examiners in any one of these four branches are arranged in three classes in order of merit, in four separate lists, and receive the degree of B. A. as honour men. I will only add that students in law and in

theology also obtain honours in their respective subjects, but as they are unconnected with the B. A. degree, I shall omit all further reference to them.

And now I must explain to you another point of University history. I suppose that you have all heard of the Senior Wrangler. The fame of this wonderful annual production of the University of Cambridge must have reached even to the furthest East, and if any one here does not know what a Senior Wrangler is, we must say, with all due apologies, "Not to know him, argues thyself unknown." Still, lest there should be any human being so benighted, I will explain that the Senior Wrangler is the man who gets the highest place in the Mathematical list. But why, you will ask, is he said to wrangle? Wrangling means quarrelling, what has quarrelling to do with Mathematics? The explanation is this. The present system of examination is altogether of modern origin, except, as they tell us, in China, where it is said to have flourished for centuries. In the earliest days of European Universities a man's knowledge was tested not by what he could write, but by what he could say; not by making him answer, but by making him argue. The exercises for degrees were public disputations. The moderators, or presidents in these disputations in each Faculty, gathered the candidates for degrees into several groups of four. Each group consisted of one respondent and three opponents. Some philosophical thesis was proposed, and this the respondent had to maintain in a long Latin dissertation, against which the opponents were expected to advance objections syllogistically arranged, according to the rules of Logic. So extraordinary was the interest taken in these performances that at the great annual gala of the University, the *Commencement* as it is called, the company, assembled for the festival, devoted a whole day to the enjoyment of these disputations, slightly varied by music and recitation of verses, and sat complacently listening for ten hours from 7 A. M. till 5 P. M. Those who most distinguished themselves in such exercises were called wranglers or disputants: the second class senior optimes, the third junior optimes: and this nomenclature has remained long after written examinations have been substituted for the old scholastic disputations. The names are limited to the mathematical honours, and this involves another important and interesting fact in the history of Cambridge studies. Cambridge was not always the mathematical University *par excellence*. For instance, when Milton was one of its students, not a single mathematical professorship was in existence there. The subjects on which wranglers disputed and for which degrees were conferred were not mathematical, but rather connected

with literature and philosophy, and are often very trivial. Thus among the subjects of Milton's Academical Exercises, we find the following: *Whether day is better than night. In the destruction of anything whatsoever, there is no resolution into first matter. Against the Scholastic Philosophy. Art is more conducive to human knowledge than ignorance.* By Queen Elizabeth's statutes of 1561, it is ordered that the preparation for the degree of B. A. shall last for four years, one devoted to Rhetoric, two to Logic, three to Philosophy, and that for three years afterwards the B. A. was to study Astronomy, Geometry, and Greek, to qualify him for the degree of M. A. But in 1664, a Mathematical chair was established, and five years afterwards the Professor was Isaac Newton. From the day of that election, which gave Cambridge mathematics a European reputation they began gradually to absorb and to expel every other pursuit. When the Examinations for Degrees practically superseded the old disputations, the mathematical part was gradually extended over 4, 5, 6 and 7 days, while the Subjects of Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Theology, and the Evidences of Christianity were confined to one day, and at last suppressed altogether. Thus no honours were given except for mathematics, and *wranglers* meant first-class men in mathematics only. But the mathematical despotism inherited by Newton's successors, was pushed too far and was unquestionably too exclusive. It was felt that, invaluable as mathematical science is as an instrument of education, it is not the only instrument. Yet it was not thought desirable to dilute the mathematical honours by an infusion of other subjects. It was better to reward separately proficiency in separate branches. In 1824, classical honours were instituted; in 1851 honours in moral and natural sciences. But the old traditional name of *Wrangler* remained with the original mathematical list, which had inherited the importance of the ancient disputations. Men distinguished in the other branches were to be called simply first class men. I will only add to my account of the intellectual career of a Cambridge student, that after he has taken his degree, the next great object is to be a fellow of his College. In the smaller Colleges, the men most distinguished in University honours are elected fellows, without further examination: at Trinity they are chosen by a trial of considerable difficulty, in Classics, Mathematics, Moral Sciences, and History, and there is no more anxious moment in the University career, than when at 9 o'clock on an October morning a candidate is waiting to receive the news, whether he is, or is not, the happy recipient of this desired and lucrative distinction. From the general body of sixty fellows, the tutors and officers of the College are chosen by the master,

those who are not thus employed either remain at Cambridge, devoting themselves to study and private tuition, or else go out into the world and use their fellowships as means of support during their first professional difficulties. Till the recent alterations all fellowships were terminated by marriage, but a considerable alleviation of this restriction has now been permitted.

But I would not leave you under the impression, that the influence of an English University is only exercised through its lectures and examinations. You see that the student, whose course we have traced to his B. A. degree, literally devotes to it three years of his life. He leaves his father and mother's house, and goes to live at Cambridge. In exchange for the influence of his parents, home, and family, he receives that of his teachers, his College, his friends and companions. A sitting-room and a bed-room are assigned to him as his castle, and there he makes almost his first experience of life, with its various details of house-keeping, of society, of independent action, and learns what are the privileges and responsibilities of being his own master. He is united to his College by the ties of common interests, common amusements, common studies, and a common worship; he meets his companions almost daily in chapel, in hall, at lecture, in the debating society, in walks, in rides, or on the river, or in the cricket field; the same ties slightly relaxed, unite him with the students of other Colleges in the University; he chooses some for a closer and lifelong friendship; he is constantly brought into contact with men of dispositions and experiences differing from his own. In this way his knowledge is increased, his tastes are developed, his moral and intellectual powers are more and more called forth. Doubtless under such process he is brought into contact with much evil. But this is the law by which God governs the world. As human nature now is, goodness does not consist in ignorance but in victory: it is not God's will that we should be kept from all temptation, but that we should have strength and power to conquer temptations: without danger there can be no courage, without the risk of falling no tried strength. It is only by contact with evil that we can learn self-government and self-control, and it is the peculiar excellence and wisdom of English education, that in accordance with God's law its different stages furnish a gradual preparation and discipline for meeting and conquering it. So says one of our poets,—

“ Lord, with what care hast thou begirt us round!
Parents first season us; then school-masters
Deliver us to laws :”

and then the boy comes forth from the strict discipline and

control of school, to prepare for the duties and struggles of after life: he quits a course of reading and occupation in which almost every part was assigned to him by his master, and enters on a stage of greater freedom, being left more to his judgement in the regulation of his studies and the control of his conduct. Thus he is intended to learn what it is to "look before and after," and by a foretaste of the difficulties and safeguards of life, he learns how to extricate himself from one and to avail himself of the other. According to a very common and obvious division of human nature, man is composed, (1) one of the *body*, including under that name not only his material organization, but all the appetites, passions and sensations which result from it, (2) of the mind or intellect, and (3) of the undying spirit or reason by which he is raised above this visible life and may enter into communion with God. A division not unlike this may be found in the most beautiful and imaginative of all philosophical works, the *Republic* of Plato, and something of the same kind, only with a deeper and more spiritual significance, is sanctioned by the Apostle Paul, when he prays God that his converts may be preserved "*blameless in body, soul and spirit.*" We will not enter into the matter minutely now, nor attempt to define too accurately the frontier line which divides one part of human nature from another, or to discriminate between the exact influences which act on each, or the manner in which they intersect. I will only generally say, that such a classification leads to practical consequences of grave importance. For instance, with reference to the very subject now before us, if education means the training of the whole man, the "fashioning of all the parts of our nature for the very ends which God designed for them, the teaching our understandings to know the highest truth, the teaching our affections to love the highest good,"* it is plain that the infusion of knowledge is but one part of it, that a great school, a College, a University, is bound to teach, to train, to educate, not the understanding only, but the body and the spirit also. And certainly, though no human institution is able perfectly to carry out this idea, yet the English Universities do with hearty endeavour profess, and in a great measure and in a vast number of cases accomplish, this triple Mission of educating the body, intellect, and the spirit. How they attempt to train and discipline the intellect I have just explained. And now shall I before I end try to tell you what is done at Cambridge for the body and the spirit? The subject would be very incomplete if I did not, and therefore I will read to you an extract from a popular modern story,† containing a description of a University

* Arnold, *Sermons*, Vol. V.

† Hughes's *Tom Brown at Oxford*.

boat race, which is perhaps the most characteristic of all gymnastic amusements. I have already given you a quotation which shews that Tennyson at least thought it so, and recollects it as the type of them all. Though Oxford and Cambridge are each situated on a river, yet these rivers are so narrow that it would be difficult for one-eight oared boat to pass another in a race. Hence a system has been devised which is called *bumping*: the boats instead of starting abreast, are placed at the beginning of a race one behind the other, at short intervals, in a certain order; and the victory consists, not in one boat passing another, but in touching some part with its bow. After this feat is accomplished, the successful boat proceeds, on the next racing evening, to try to effect another bump, thereby gaining another place on the list; and to be first of all, "head of the river," as it is called, is an honor as much coveted by the Colleges as the senior wranglership itself. Here then is an account of a race between the boats of two Colleges on the last evening of the season, when the headship of the river is finally decided for that year, the names, or at least all but one, being fictitious, but the actual scene just that which may be witnessed on any racing night at Oxford or Cambridge, the pluck, the earnest endeavour, the resolution, the steadiness of purpose, the intense excitement both among the combatants and the crowd watching the struggle from the bank, being most accurately pictured. You are to understand that the two Colleges are supposed to be called St. Ambrose's and Oriel, that Miller is the steerer or coxswain of the St. Ambrose boat, that Tom and Hardy are actors in the conflict, Drysdale a spectator of it, and that a "view halloo," means a cheer given with the utmost force of a man's lungs. "After a few moments of breathless hush on the bank, the last gun is fired, and they are off. The old scene of mad excitement ensues, only tenfold more intense as almost the whole interest of the races is to night concentrated on the two head boats and their fate. Both make a beautiful start; in the first dash the St. Ambrose pace tells, and they gain their boat's length before first winds fail, and then they settle down for a long steady effort. Both crews are rowing comparatively steady, reserving themselves for the tug of war above. Miller's face is decidedly hopeful; he shows no sign indeed, but you can see that he feels that to-day the boat is full of life, and that he can call on his crew with hopes of an answer. His well trained eye detects that while both crews are at full stretch, his own is gaining inch by inch on Oriel. The gain is scarcely perceptible to him even; from the bank it is quite imperceptible, but there it is, he is surer and surer of it, as one after another the willows are left behind. ...Now there

is no mistake about it, St. Ambrose's boat *is* creeping up slowly but surely. The boat's length lessens to 40 feet, to 30 feet, surely and steadily lessens. But the race is not lost yet, 30 feet is a short space enough to look at on the water, but a good bit to pick up foot by foot in the last two hundred yards of a desperato struggle. There stands the winning post, close ahead, all but won. The distance lessens and lessens still, but the Oriol crew stick steadily and gallantly to their work, and fight every inch of distance to the last. The Oriolites on the bank, who are rushing along sometimes in the water, sometimes out, hoarse, furious, madly alternating between hope and danger, have no reason to be ashamed of a man in the crew. Another minute and it will be over one way or another. Every man in both crews is now doing his best, and no mistake; tell me which boat holds the most men, who can do better than their best at a pinch, who will risk a broken blood vessel, and I will tell you how it will end. 'Hard pounding, gentlemen, let us see who will pound longest?' the Duke of Wellington is reported to have said at the Battle of Waterloo, and he won. Is there a man of that temper in either crew to night? If so, now is his time. For both coxswains have called on their men for the last effort: Miller is whirling the tassal of his right hand tiller rope round his head like a weary little lunatic: from the towing path, from Christ Church meadow, from the rows of punts, from the clustered tops of the barges, comes a roar of encouragement and applause, and the band, unable to resist the impulse, breaks with a crash into the tune of the *Jolly Young Waterman*. The St. Ambrose stroke is glorious. Tom had an atom of go still left in the very back of his head, and this moment he heard Drysdale's "view holloa" above all the din; it seemed to give him a lift, and other men besides in the boat, for in another six strokes the gap is lessened, and St. Ambrose has crept up to ten feet, and now to five the stern of the Oriol. Weeks afterwards Hardy confided to Tom that when he heard that view holloa, he seemed to feel the muscles of his arms and legs turn into steel, and did more work in the last twenty strokes than in any other part in the earlier part of the race. Another fifty yards and Oriol is safe, but the look on their Captain's face is so ominous that their coxswain glances over his shoulder. The bow of St. Ambrose is within two feet of their rudder. It is a moment for desperate expedients. He pulls his left tiller rope suddenly, thereby carrying the stern of his own boat out of the line of St. Ambrose's and calls on his crew once more; they respond gallantly yet, but the rudder is against them for a moment, and the boat drags. St. Ambrose's overlaps. 'A bump,' 'a bump,' shout the Ambrosians on shore. 'Row on, row on,' screams

Miller. He has not yet felt the electric shock, and knows he will miss his bump, if the young ones slacken for a moment. A young coxswain would have gone on making shots at the stern of the Oriel boat, and so have lost. A bump now and no mistake; and the bow of St. Ambrose boat jams the oar of the Oriel stroke, and the two pass the winning-post with the swing that was on them when the bump was made. So bare a shave was it. To describe the scene on the bank is beyond me. It was a hurly burly of delirious joy."

It may be said perhaps that if this is a specimen of the way in which athletic sports are carried on at Cambridge and Oxford, if a College is in "delirious joy" at the success of its boat, if a man is ready to break a blood-vessel in order to win, the whole thing is exaggerated, strength and energy are wasted on a worthless object, and further (in which objection there would be a nearer approach to truth), that such a state of mind and feeling is scarcely consistent with the chastened sobriety inculcated by every moral teacher whose lessons are worth our attention, and by Christian teachers more than any. No doubt all struggles for distinction, whether in an empire, a Church, a class list, or a gymnastic contest, require to be carefully watched, lest they merely minister to ambition or vanity, to the desire of applause, of money, or of power, and occupy an undue place in our thoughts and aspirations. But still we shall do well to remember that whatever we undertake should be done thoroughly, or not undertaken at all; that God has given us no faculties and powers which He did not mean us to exercise, and improve, and use in His service; that the spirit which wins a Cambridge boat race is the same spirit which has won for England her place among the nations, for such exercises are not merely intended for the physical development of the outward frame, but for replacing selfishness, and indolence and the love of ease, by energy and active resolution. But after all the true remedy against the evil of excitement and ambition and self-conceit is not to be found in crippling or holding back any of our energies, but in developing all in their due proportion. And this brings me at length to the last subject with which I shall trouble you to-night.

From a scene of vehement excitement and an animated display of bodily life and strength, it may appear an abrupt and almost irreverent change to pass suddenly to the quiet region of calm spiritual contemplation, of the soul's growth in piety, and in the knowledge of God. Yet the transition will illustrate the point on which I have just been speaking. If we believe that both body and spirit are God's creation, that the due cultivation of both are in accordance with His will, there

ought to be no incongruity in passing from the one to the other, unless indeed the training of the body is defiled by coarseness and self-indulgence. But there are two difficulties which occur to me in turning to this the concluding and loftiest part of my subject. The first is, that the training of man's immortal spirit depends on such numerous and subtle and varied influences, some indeed tangible and visible, and some imperceptible, like the wind, of which the sound is heard, though we cannot tell whence it comes and whither it goes, that to give anything like a systematic account of this education of the spirit is quite impossible. The other is that here, for the first time since I began to speak, my hearers and I are not on common ground. Were I to tell you of the outward means and apparatus, as it were, by which Cambridge tries to fulfil this its highest mission, and speak to you about services in the various college chapels, sermons, and theological lectures, I should not only be entering on subjects necessarily unsuited for this place and audience, but I should after all only be standing on the threshold of the subject, for it is possible to understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and yet to be without the one grace which is the end and object of all true religious teaching. Perhaps therefore it will be safer instead of attempting what is so difficult, merely to give you a very short sketch of one chapter in Cambridge history, in order to show how spiritual influences have been brought to bear on the education of the place.

Towards the end of the last century, a miserable cloud of deadness and torpor, of unbelief and selfish worldliness, came over English Christianity. Earnest religion was decried as fanaticism, the teaching of the New Testament was denied, or overlooked, or explained away. Immorality followed upon irreligion, and canker seemed preying upon the life of England. Many good and holy men were gradually raised up one after another by God's providence to stay this terrible disease, and in the year 1779, an Eton boy named Charles Simeon was admitted as a scholar of the magnificent foundation of King's College. He was brought by God's blessing to a strong and vivid conception of Christian truth, and he resolved to devote his life and all his powers to the spread of that truth first over his University, and through the University over England, and the world. In due time he became fellow of his college and was ordained a minister of the English Church, but his strict rules of life, firm and uncompromising opposition to all evil, and devotion to the service of Him whom he had deliberately chosen as his Master, exposed him to obloquy, ridicule, and

persecution. On one occasion his church doors were locked against him, to prevent him from preaching. The services at which he officiated were interrupted by the grossest insults. Stones were thrown at the windows, every effort was made to hinder undergraduates from attending his ministry. The term *Simeonite* was used as a word of reproach and contempt, and a man to whom the nickname was affixed, could entertain but little hopes of a successful career in the pursuit of this world's advantages. But nothing could shake Simeon from his resolution to bear testimony in his teaching to all that was true, and in his life to all that was good. Opposition was overborne by the constancy of his purpose and the consistency of his holiness. He soon exercised a marvellous influence on Cambridge. Crowds of students attended his Church on Sundays, and his rooms in King's College, where he lectured on the Holy Scriptures on Fridays. Men, trained under his teaching, went forth from Cambridge into England, into the Colonies, into India. Through his influence this country was blest by the labours of David Brown, Thomas Thomason, Henry Martyn, and Bishop Corrie. Year by year an increasing number of University men acknowledged that they owed to him even their own selves. And when in the year 1836, he who had served God faithfully in Cambridge for half a century was called away from earth to share his Master's glory, all classes seemed to vie with each other in doing honour to his memory. I well remember his funeral. It was on a dull rainy November day, at which season in England the ground is strewn with the fallen leaves, and all nature seems sorrowful, that the long procession of heads of Colleges, professors, tutors, doctors, masters and undergraduates followed the coffin into the glorious chapel of King's, where his weeping parishioners were waiting to receive it. There, amidst the sublime prayers and loving benedictions of the English liturgy, alternating with the solemn music of the pealing organ, it was lowered into the grave beneath the ancient groined roof of the grandest of academical buildings, with the richly coloured windows, the most gorgeous in England, casting their gleaming lights upon the pavement and the immense crowd of mourners. The spontaneous attendance of the whole University at the funeral was the expression of the effect which Simeon had produced on its very heart. Remember that the tribute was paid by a body of men whose natural tendency is to reserve its highest honours for intellectual eminence, to one whose life among them had been exclusively devoted to spiritual labours. So true is God's word, written in one of our sacred books, "*Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed.*"

Such then, my friends, are some of the various influences to which the English boy who becomes a member of the great University of Cambridge is subjected, before he is allowed to leave it as the Englishman thoroughly furnished to fulfil the duties of a Christian citizen. It is not hard for us to draw the lessons and apply the parallel, and to notice what are the differences and what are the resemblances with your own University of Calcutta. The resemblances are clear. Both are great national institutions, both seek to fit the youth of the nation for usefulness and honour. Nor are the differences less striking. Of Cambridge the origin was humble, it was the work of a few poor Christian brothers, slowly and spontaneously developed. Calcutta sprang into being in a single day by the decree of the supreme power of the state. Cambridge is now amply furnished with large independent endowments. Calcutta, as it was created by the will, so it depends for its existence on the bounty of Government. Again, Cambridge engrosses to itself all the functions of education, it not only governs, regulates, examines, and rewards, but actually teaches. Calcutta only undertakes to test and recompense proficiency, while it leaves the work of instruction to independent schools and colleges, having no corporate or necessary connection with itself. These are the differences which lie upon the surface, but the radical and, at present, irreconcilable distinction is, that Cambridge educates and disciplines the whole man; Calcutta must of necessity, as things are now, only attempt to train the intellect. I am not not of those who think that this is an unimportant task, or one which we can safely or lawfully neglect, because we cannot do more. On the contrary I agree entirely with a wise old Greek, "That in some cases they are fools who know not that the half is more than the whole," and as a loyal senator and fellow of your University, I desire to do all that in me lies to increase its efficiency, to enlarge its borders, and strengthen its stakes, within its allotted province. But I do think it most important that we should all perceive and acknowledge that the work, in the form which it now necessarily assumes, is and must be imperfect. You Indians and we Englishmen are unable as yet to agree upon the way in which the deficiency can be supplied, for the gulf cannot be bridged over between those who have and those who have not the Christian's faith and hope. But we may all assert the truth that a merely intellectual training is only a partial development of man; we may all acknowledge the supremacy of the spirit and conscience and reason, though we may not all recognize the heaven-sent remedy for their degradation, and the only sure means of enlightening their blindness. We may all

share the poet's desire that our nature may be brought back to
God's ideal,—

Let knowledge grow from more to more
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music, as before ;

even though we cannot all as yet discern the Divine Hand
which can alone change the discord into harmony.

ON THE RELATION
BETWEEN THE
HINDU AND BUDDHISTIC SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY
AND THE LIGHT WHICH THE HISTORY
OF THE ONE THROWS ON THE OTHER.*

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Indian philosophy may be considered under two great heads, Brahminical and Buddhistic. The Brahminical is that which does not, at least openly, contravene the authority of the Veda and the supremacy of the Brahminical order. The Buddhistic is that which professes to be indifferent to the authority of the Veda and the institution of caste. The former is subdivided into six schools, popularly called the *Shaṭ-dars'ana*. On the subdivisions of the latter, it is difficult to hazard a confident assertion. Buddhists are widely scattered over the surface of Asia, representing nations, kingdoms, and languages, which have been but insufficiently explored. The testimony of the Brahmins cannot here be implicitly relied on, it being the testimony of enemies. Mr. Hodgson has given a few names on the authority of native scholars at Khatmandoo, and that may be considered an authentic account of Buddhistic teaching in Nepaul. He mentions the *Swābhāvikas*, the *Prājnīkas*, the *Aś'varīkas*, the *Kārmīkas*, the *Yātnīkas*. I am not aware that the Buddhists of China, Ceylon, Burmah, and the Indo-Chinese countries have subdivided themselves into schools. They do not appear to have speculated much on debatable grounds in their system,—but have rather laboured after practical developments of the sentiments which gave rise to their Society, and to consolidate their teaching.

* A few sentences in this Lecture will be found identical with certain passages in the author's "Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy," which was still in the press at the time the Lecture was delivered, but has since been published.

The six schools of Brahminical philosophy have also ramified into other subdivisions and sects. The relation of the Creator to the creation as inculcated in the Vedant, for instance, is held variously not only by Vedantists proper, but also by Bhagavatas, Ramanujas, Ramanandis, and others, who, receiving the doctrine of the Brahma Sūtras as to the production of the universe from Brahma and its resolution into Him, enter into conflicting speculations on the nature of His and the world's existence.

The six schools of Brahminical philosophy are the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṅkhya and Yoga, the Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. I have put them in pairs, because each bears so much resemblance to its match, that the six schools may, by further generalization, be classified into three—the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, and the Vedānta.

Of the founders of the three first named schools, nothing or next to nothing is known for certain. We cannot venture to identify them with any historical or even mythical characters. Tradition attributes to a Rishi of the name of Gotama, the foundation of the Nyāya. Nothing is, however, said as to his personality. There are in the Vedas and Purāṇas several persons named Gotama. But we cannot say which, or if any of them, wrote the Nyāya sūtras. Buddha himself was called Gotama, and the fact is suggestive. We shall see by and by that there is nothing in the Nyāya essentially opposed to Buddha's known teaching—nor anything in Buddha's teaching that is necessarily at variance with the Nyāya. Nor can we say that Gotama was a *personal* name, and not a *surname*. The name Gotama was given to Buddha only as an appellative, expressive of his power over his senses. We cannot say that it was *not* given to the author of the Nyāya in a similarly complimentary way. Our uncertainty becomes the greater, because we find another name applied by some writers to the author of the Nyāya—by some again to the system itself. And that name is Akṣhapāda. Vijnāna Bhikṣhu says in the preface to his commentary of the Sāṅkhya অক্ষপাদে প্রণীতে চ কথানে সাধারণযোগ্যঃ। giving the name Akṣhapāda to the author of the Nyāya—which in 'the *Sarva-dars'ana-saṅgraha* is called *Akṣhapāda dars'ana*. This name is by some writers considered also an appellative, meaning, *eye-footed*. The story is that Gotama used to walk about in such a state of abstraction, pondering the figments of his system, that his ordinary eyes quite forget their office, on which Viṣṇu was so good as to plant a pair of optics in his feet. Hence the surname. The author of the Abhidhāna Chintāmani, however, gives another meaning of *Akṣhapāda*. He considers it synonymous with *Naiyāyika*, the etymology of

which is thus explained in the *Sabda-muktā-mahārṇava*, অক্ষপাৎ
জ্ঞান বিশেষণ ব্যবহারেণ বা পদ্যতে জায়তে ইতি অক্ষপাৎ ।

The name and personality of the founder of the *Vaiśeṣika* school are involved in still greater obscurity. This school inculcates what is called the atomic doctrine. Those who are opposed to that doctrine, give the nick-name of *কণভুজ*, or *feeders on small particles*, to the followers of this school. We are told that the school was founded by a Rishi of the name of *Kaṇāda*, but as the word *Kaṇāda* is synonymous with *কণভুজ* and means a *feeder on small particles*, the name, if the Rishi really bore it in life, must have been given him, not on the day of the *নামকরণ* by his friends, but sometime after he became a teacher of philosophy, by his enemies. *Kaṇāda* was evidently a nickname invented by opponents, and accepted by friends, and there is no other tradition or legend as to the real name of the author of the *Vaiśeṣika* sutras.

Kapila, the reputed author of the *Sāṅkhya* sutras, is a well-known mythological character. It was he who had reduced the sixty thousand sons of King *Sagara* to ashes, and who still has a sacred shrine at *Gangā Sāgara*. But we are not allowed so easily to settle the paternity of the *Sāṅkhya*. There is another *Kapila* mentioned in one of the *Upanishads*, and *Sankaracharya* tells us we have no right to attribute the paternity of the *Sāṅkhya* to either of them, because the word *Kapila* has other meanings in the Sanscrit language and may simply be an appellative—and the Buddhists add to our confusion by speaking of another *Kapila* still, one of their old *Bodhisats*, after whom the birthplace of their founder was called *Kapila-vastu*, or the town of *Kapila*. We are accordingly left in great perplexity, not knowing *whom* to consider the founder of the *Sāṅkhya* school.

The *Yoga* is attributed to a Rishi of the name of *Patanjali*. If this was the same person who wrote the *Mahabhashya*, or the great commentary on the sutras of *Panini*, we cannot say we know nothing of him. Professor *Goldstucker* has by a very ingenious criticism settled the date of that work.* This may throw considerable light on Sanscrit chronology, for it takes off the charm of high antiquity from the name of *Vyasa*, the reputed author of the *Puranas*, who also wrote a commentary on the *Yoga* sutras.

The name and personality of the two remaining schools are not involved in the obscurity which hangs over the first three. *Jaimini* the author of the *Mimamsa* was a pupil of *Vyasa* the author of the *Brahma* sutras or the *Vedānta*. The same *Vyasa* was the supposed author not only of the *Mahabharata* but

* See his Introduction to the *Manava Kalpa* Sutras.

also of the Puranas, and the compiler of the Veda. He was otherwise called Krishna Dwaipayana. Perhaps his real name was Krishna. He was called Vyasa because he was the compiler of the Vedas, and he was surnamed Dwipayana because of the *not very delicate* story of his birth. He was the son of the Rishi Parasara and of the fisherwoman *Matsya-gandha*.

Of the six schools of Brahminical philosophy already named, the Nyaya, with the Vais'eshika as its appendage, is most carefully cultivated in Bengal. The Raja Krishna Chandra Roy, the founder of the noble family which is still the glory of Kishnaghur, was one of the greatest patrons of Hindoo learning in this part of India. He established the College of pundits at Nuddea to which all Hindoostan concedes the palm of superiority for its cultivation of the *Nyāya sastra*. But the Nyāya sastra, as studied by contemporary native scholars, comprises but a small portion of the original teaching of Gotama or Kanada. Gotama divided his work into sixteen topics of which, *Pramana* or proof was but one. This *pramana* again was subdivided into four divisions, প্রত্যক্ষ or Perception, অনুমান or Inference, উপমান or Analogy, and শব্দ or Affirmation. It is *anumana* or inference to which the modern students of the Nyāya may be said almost to confine their attention. They study accordingly but one sixty-fourth part of what Gotama taught—and this of course they study deeply. The subject in itself is one of the most interesting to which a scholar can direct his attention. It involves logic, and the Aristotelian syllogism—though the Brahminical *anumana* or Inference is not identical with that syllogism. Inference is a *pramana* in Gotama. *Pramana* means an instrument of *prama*. প্রমাণঃ কৰণং প্রমাণং *Prama* again means accurate knowledge—যথার্থানুভবঃ। যথার্থ is thus defined, তদ্বত্তি তদবগাহিষ্ণুং যথার্থং. *To attribute to a thing that which is in it* is accurate knowledge. The object of *anumana* therefore is not merely to test the correctness of a certain conclusion or to detect logical fallacies—but to investigate the premises themselves so as to attribute to a thing precisely that which is in it. The *anumana* of the *Naiyayikas* involves therefore both the inductive and the deductive processes. There may be a great deal in their speculations admitting of improvements—a great deal that may be simplified without loss or damage,—but these unassisted speculations of Bengal pundits for the last century display much acuteness, and certainly contain the elements of a sound system of Logic, that may stand in rivalry with most that Europe has produced between the era of Aristotle and that of a Mill and Sir William Hamilton.

But as I have already observed the Nyáya of Nuddea is founded on a very small portion of Gotama's aphorisms, and does not deal at all with his psychology and system of the Universe. His views on these points are comprised in his 2d Sutra. He says *दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिच्छाजनानां उद्वेगोद्वेगपापे उद्वेगपापे अप-
वर्गः* । "Pain, Birth, Activity, Fault, False notions,—on the successive annihilation of these in turn there is the annihilation of the one before it—and thence *अपवर्ग* or beatitude." That is to say on the annihilation of False notions, there is the annihilation of Fault—on its annihilation, the annihilation of Activity—on its annihilation, again, is the annihilation of Birth or Transmigration—and on release from Transmigration is the annihilation of Pain—which is Supreme Felicity. The points to be especially noticed here are his views of Activity *प्रवृत्ति* and Birth. The one he defines to be the initiation of speech, understanding, and corporeal existence. *प्रवृत्तिं वाग्वृत्तिशरीरादयः* And this he reckons a *fault* *प्रवर्तना लक्षणा दोषाः* the removal of which, by obviating the necessity of Transmigration, procures supreme Felicity. That is to say, if you desire Supreme Felicity, you must get rid of your activity, and thereby of the bondage of Birth.

Birth again he declares to be an essential evil. *विविधबाधना योगात् दुःखात् जन्मात्पत्तिः* । It becomes inevitable when you have activity. For activity leads to actions from which proceed Dharma and Adharma or merit and demerit. If you do ill you must be subject to transmigration to endure your punishment. If you do well, you must still be born after death and lead an embodied life to enjoy your reward. Both are ills—both are sore troubles. To enjoy reward is as great a pain as to suffer punishment. And herein is your perplexity, you can decline your reward no more than you can evade your punishment. Nor can you escape from the predicament, by doing *nothing*—for that would be the neglect of the duties of your calling to which a penalty is attached. Such neglect is itself *adharma* and must entail punishment. You must discharge your duty. But you must discharge it in such a way as to merit no reward, and thereby escape transmigration. That is the way which the author proposes to explain in his work.

Now escape from transmigration means not only cessation of embodied existence, but also cessation of intellectual existence. In a state of supreme felicity you not only cease to see and hear, but also to think and feel. The soul when it is no longer subject to birth remains without body, without senses, *and without mind*. And that is the state of supreme felicity. What can be the meaning of such existence, and how such existence differs from non-existence it is not for me to explain. But

existence with body and mind, or sensuous existence, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be *dukkha* or trouble.

In this opinion, the Nyāya, the Sankhya, and the Vedānta are consentient. They all declare that sensuous existence with body and mind is an essential evil, and that our only remedy is to get rid of the necessity of transmigration the best way we can.

The Vedānta has an additional opinion of life and the world, in which the Nyāya and the Sankhya do not acquiesce. The Vedānta pronounces the universe to be a mere phantom—a *maya*—a mere shadow without substance. Its opinion of the evils of sensuous life is therefore still stronger. It represents the world as the great tormentor of the soul, which, impatient of its sufferings, has recourse to the professor of true spiritual science, with the same haste and eagerness with which a man, with his head on fire, runs into a pool of water. অমম্বিকারী জননমরগাদিসংসারানলসঙ্কপ্তো দীপ্তশিরা জলরাশিমিবোপহারপাণিঃ শ্রোত্রিঃ বুদ্ধনিষ্ঠঃ গুরুমুপসৃত্য তমনুসরতি ।

The question which meets us at this point is when and how did the Brahminical mind persuade itself that intelligent and active existence is an essential evil and that real felicity consists in a state of emancipation from body and mind, when it can neither think nor act. When and how did it begin to look upon the world as a mere phantom—a shadow—a জল চন্দ্র or lunar appearance in the water—Such doctrines are not naturally suggested by external phenomena. Under what influence, under what impulse then did the Hindu mind entertain them?

When the Brahmins first settled on the fertile plains of Hindustan they were far from pronouncing the world to be a phantom, or sensuous life to be an essential evil. In their earliest literature, the Mantras of the Veda, we do not see traces of any such doctrine. Every thing is there natural—nothing transcendental. We see hymns and prayers addressed to divinities. The objects prayed for are all objects of sensuous enjoyment and sensuous conception. Offspring, cattle, lands, houses, such are the boons which the gods are requested to bestow on their votaries. No impatience of life—no description of the world as an assemblage of evils—much less as a mere phantom or *maya*—no aspirations after release from existence with body and mind are found there.

Nor do we descry any decided advance toward the transcendentalism of the *Shad-dars'anas* in the *Brahmanas* of the Vedas. Hindu Society was then regularly formed—the institution of caste was matured—the Brahmins were recognized as the repositories of learning, and ministers for the performance of

rites and ceremonies. Rules had been formed for their initiation in theology. The learned among them were teachers of their order. Young Brahmins would be brought up in the houses of their preceptors—their *gurus*. They would take lessons on the Vedas. Inquisitive pupils would be allowed to ask questions on speculative science, and communicative tutors would resolve their doubts. In these conferences between teachers and pupils, metaphysical questions would be naturally debated. The prospects of the soul after death would often become the subject of catechetical instruction. But these instructions and speculations as far as they appear from the Brahmanas had nothing decidedly transcendental in them. They were for the most part ethical and ritualistic. We only see occasionally certain aspirations after union with the divinity, but these were rare and exceptional. We also mark a tendency toward identifying the universe and deified personifications with the Supreme Brahma. But we do not see any absolute condemnation of the world, because of the evils of disease and death. We do not see it denounced as an assemblage of essential evils incapable of remedy. We do not notice any impatience of life and embodied existence. We do not hear of the necessity of getting rid of transmigrations. We are not told that supreme felicity consists in the separation of the soul from body and mind, or that the functions of body and mind inevitably lead to misery. We do not learn that *pravritti* or activity is an evil in itself—or that our chief good can only be found in a state in which the soul will be deprived of its capacities of thought, feeling and action.

The transcendental notions which are now the fundamental principles of Hindu philosophy, had no existence in the Mantras and Brahmanas. When, then, were they first broached, by whom, and how?

Reserving for a few moments the question as to what extent the Upanishads are calculated to throw light on the point just mooted, I will now turn to the rise of Buddhistic philosophy. Notwithstanding its subdivision into schools, and its extension over countries peopled by races, differing in language, manners, customs, and politics, the system has preserved a wonderful uniformity in all its conspicuous points through the lapse of centuries. The traditions of all Buddhistic communities, though separated by thousands of miles and having no earthly ties to induce intercommunication, agree in attributing to Sakya Singha, otherwise called Buddha, Bodhisat, Gotama, Sugata, &c., the prince of Kapilavastu, the origin of their system. Sakya was the surname of the family or tribe and not the personal designation of Buddha himself. The family is said to

have descended from *Ikshwaku* a prince of the solar line, celebrated in Brahminical legends as king of Ayodhia, and progenitor of Dasaratha and Rama. The following is a Tibetan legend on the origin of the city of Kapilavastu and the family surname Sakya :

"Ikshwaku विरुधक a prince of the solar dynasty had his capital at Potala. After the death of his first wife he marries again. He obtains the daughter of a king, under the condition that he shall give the throne to the son that shall be born of that princess. By the contrivance of the chief officers, to make room for the young prince to succession, the king orders the expulsion of his four sons.

"They, taking their own sisters with them, and accompanied by a great multitude, leave Potala, go towards the Himalaya, and reaching the bank of the Bhagirathi river settle there, not far from the hermitage of Kapila the Rishi, and live in huts made of the branches of trees. They live there on hunting; and sometimes they visit the hermitage of Kapila the Rishi. He observing them to look very ill, asks them why they were so pale. They tell him how much they suffer on account of their restraint or continence. He advises them to leave their own uterine sisters, and to take themselves (to wife) such as are not born of the same mother with them. "O great Rishi! said the princes, is it convenient for us to do this?" "Yes, Sirs, answered the Rishi, banished princes may act in this way." Therefore, taking for a rule the advice of the Rishi, they do accordingly, and cohabit with their non-uterine sisters, and have many children by them. The noise of them being inconvenient to the Rishi in his meditation, he wishes to change his habitation. But they beg him to remain in his own place, and to design for them any other ground. He therefore marks them out the place where they should build a town : since the ground was given by Kapila, they called the new city Kapilavastu.

"At Potala the king Ikshwaku Virudhaka, recollecting that he had four sons, asks his officers, what has become of them. They tell him, how for some offence his Majesty had expelled them, and how they had settled in the neighbourhood of the Himalaya, and that they have taken their own sisters for their wives, and have been much multiplied. The king, being much surprized on hearing this, exclaims several times: Shakya! Shakya! Is it possible! Is it possible! (or O daring! O daring!) and this is the origin of the name Shakya."

The Singalese legend is more circumstantial as to names and personalities. The Ikshwaku Virudhaka of Tibet is Okkaka, the third of the Singalese, otherwise called Amba. He had five

principal queens, one of whom Hastá bore him four sons and five daughters. After the death of Hastá, the king promoted one of her maids to the rank of queen and was by her persuaded to send Hastá's sons out of the kingdom, who, accordingly went away, as exiles, accompanied by their five sisters. Wandering in quest of a site to build a new city they fall in with the Rishi Kapila, who was the Bodhisat of the age, and who was afterwards to become Gotama Buddha. Kapila had his habitation on a charmed spot where hares over-awed the jackal, and frogs struck terror into the náya or snake. This site he presented to the princes for the building of a town which he requested them to name after him. This was built according to the advice they received, and was called after the name of the Sage. The princes then said to each other, "If we send to any of the inferior kings to ask their daughters in marriage, it will be a dishonour to the Okkaka race; and if we give our sisters to their princes it will be an equal dishonour; it will therefore be better to stain the purity of our relationship than that of our race." The eldest sister was therefore appointed as the queen-mother, and each of the brothers took one of the other sisters as his wife. In the course of time each of the queens had eight sons and eight daughters, or sixty-four children in all. When their father leard in what manner the princes had acted, he thrice exclaimed, শক্য বত ভো রাজকুমারঃ পরমশক্য্য বত ভো রাজকুমার্যঃ "The princes are skilful in preserving the purity of our race, the princes are exceedingly skilful in preserving the purity of our race." So Mr. Hardy, from whose *Manual* I have taken the story, translates the words, but they may be more correctly rendered; the princes are indeed *able* (Sakyá)—the princesses are indeed *very able*!

Such was the origin of the town of Kapilavastu and of the tribe of Sakya. It is singular that the Buddhists should cherish a legend which assigns an incestuous origin to the race from which their leader was descended, the Tibetans slightly qualifying it by saying the princes only took *half* sisters—while the Singalese represent them as living with their uterine sisters. It is also singular that they should perpetuate in the surname of Sakya Muni, the very term which was derived from the daring moral impurity by means of which that tribe sprang. And it is not the less remarkable that Buddha should bear an appellation expressive of the extreme jealousy of caste and family dignity to which his progenitors did not scruple to sacrifice all other ideas of domestic virtue and propriety.

Strange, that the very man who hit the first and strongest blow on the institution of caste, should be honoured by a

name which was gained by the surrender of matrimonial purity for the sake of caste.

It was at the town of Kapilavastu, founded by incest for the preservation of caste, that Buddha was born, the son of Sudhodhana and Mahamaya. On the fifth day his name was fixed. He was called Siddhartha. This appears to have been his personal designation. All other titles were either surnames or appellatives.

Sudhodhana had been informed from the beginning that Siddhartha would soon take to the life of an ascetic with a view to become Bodhisat. This had always caused uneasiness to the father, whose tender affection could not bear the idea of his beloved son passing the life of a mendicant. When the boy was 12 years old the monarch assembled his Brahmins and asked from what cause would the child become a recluse. They informed the king that he would see four things—decrepitude, disease, a dead body, and a recluse, which would induce him to leave the palace and retire to the forest. The king commanded that those four sights should always be kept at a distance from him—and that he should never be brought near them. With a view to preclude the possibility of those inauspicious sights striking the prince's eyes, the king caused three palaces to be built for him, one for the summer, another for the rains, and the third for the winter, and guards were placed on all sides extending to the distance of four miles to prevent those dreaded objects from coming within the sight of the prince.

Along with this preventive measure, the king was resolved that the prince should have an accomplished and a handsome wife of whatever caste—for, said he, Siddhartha did not care for caste or family, he looked only for accomplishments, truth, and righteousness.

ন কুলেন ন গোত্রেণ কুমারো যম বিস্মিতঃ ।

শুণে সত্যো চ ধৰ্ম্মে চ তত্রাস্য রমতে মনঃ ॥

This was rather strange in a prince who bore the name of *Sakya*, though not remarkable in a character who has been held to be a bitter opponent of the system of caste—but such indifference to that system, in questions of matrimony, was not peculiar to him—as may be inferred from the wide prevalence of the mixed classes—and Menu himself has said, that there is no more harm in accepting an accomplished bride from a vile tribe, than sound learning from a junior or inferior.

ঔদধানঃ শ্রুত্বা বিদ্যামাদনীতাবরাদপি ।

অভ্যাদপি পরং ধৰ্ম্মং ত্রীরক্তং দুষ্কুলাদপি ॥

An accomplished princess was found in Yasodhara, princess of Koli—but although the lady herself expressed her firm attachment to Siddhartha, her father could not be persuaded to accept as his son-in-law one that was about to enter on an ascetic life. Yasodhara was however brought away by force and became the princess of Kapilavastu. Forty thousand princesses were added to the zenana with a view to amuse the prince, and reclaim him from the melancholy mood under the influence of which he was desirous of renouncing his home.

But all the king's precautions against his son's becoming an ascetic proved unavailing. The gods themselves were impatiently waiting for the happy moment when Siddhartha would enter on his high calling. One day therefore when he was resolved to go out on a drive—and when by the king's orders all unseemly sights had been removed from the town—the gods exhibited in his way the appearance of a decrepit old man, humpbacked, with broken teeth, grey locks, wrinkled, leaning on a staff, and walking slowly with tremulous steps. Wondering, aghast, at the wretched spectacle, the prince inquired of the coachman, who the person was? "An old man, my lord," answered the coachman, "bent down by age, his strength and energy gone, his senses worn out, and he himself destitute and disabled." Struck by the coachman's answer, the prince asked again. "Is such a wretched existence peculiar to the race or tribe of which this unhappy person is a member, or is that the common lot of the whole world? Do, tell me the truth quickly."

The coachman replied :

"It is not a peculiar misfortune, my lord, of this poor man, or of his family, or country. Youth and old age are incident to all—nor can your highness expect to be free from it. No one can escape decrepitude."

The prince was so overwhelmed with the conception of the world's misery, that he immediately ordered the coachman to turn the carriage homeward and he returned in a most melancholy mood of mind.

When the prince on another occasion was driving out with a large retinue, a leper, full of sores, unable to move, and breathing with difficulty fell in his sight—and from the enquiries he made of the coachman, he concluded that disease was another evil to which all were subject. A third drive brought him the sight of death in a similar manner, and another addition was made to the evils of life in his conception. A fourth drive unfolded the sight of a mendicant Brahmachari absorbed in meditation with subdued mind and senses.

These dreaded sights produced the effects which the Brāh-

mins had foretold. The prince began to cry *shame* on life and existence! Fie on youth, almost in the very grasp of decrepitude! Fie on health, soon to be overpowered by disease. Fie on life, running headlong into the jaws of death.

ধিগোবনেন জরয়া সমভিক্তেন
আরোগ্য ধিগুবিধব্যধিপরাহতেন
ধিজীবিতেন পুরুষো ন চিরস্থিতেন
ধিক্ পণ্ডিতস্য পুরুষস্য রতি প্রসঙ্গে

His disgust with life had become so great, that even if there were no disease and death, he would still, he said, condemn it as a scene of misery and trouble, because of the five *skandhas*, but now that the incursions of disease and death are so inevitable, a moment should not be lost in renouncing the whole and thinking of liberation.

যদি জর ন ভবেয়া নৈব ব্যাধি ন মৃত্যু
স্থখপি চ মহদুঃখং পঞ্চস্কন্ধং ধরন্তো
কিং পুন জর ব্যাধি মৃত্যু নিত্যানুবন্ধা
সাপু প্রতিনিবর্ত্য চিস্তয়িষ্যে প্রমোচ্যে।

He accordingly at once made his determination to renounce the world, but he thought it would be ungrateful and cowardly to steal away from the palace without at least apprizing an affectionate father and a righteous king of his intentions. So he repairs to his father's palace, and entreats him, on the one hand to grant him permission to enter on an ascetical life, and on the other not to grieve on his departure. The father with eyes full of tears asks if he wanted anything to make him happy and comfortable at home—promises to grant whatever he desired—and in his turn begs him to have pity on an old father, a royal family, and a country eagerly looking up to him as its future sovereign.

তমজ্ঞপূর্ণ নয়নো নৃপতি বর্তাবে
কিং স্থিৎ প্রয়োজন ভবেহিনিবর্তনে তে
কিং যাচসে মম বরং বদ সৰ্ব দাস্যে
অনুগৃহ রাজকুল মাঞ্চ ইদঞ্চ রাষ্ট্রং

The young prince replies in mild accents that he would gladly remain at home, if his father could but grant four boons :

1st, to assure him against decrepitude that he might have eternal youth.

ইচ্ছামি দেব জর মহ্য ন আক্রমেয়।
শুভ্রবর্ণ যৌবন স্থিতো ভবি নিত্যকালং

2nd, to assure him against disease, 3rd, against death and 4th, against adversity.

আরোগ্য প্রাপ্তু ভবি নো চ ভবেত ব্যাধি

রমিত আয়ুশ্চ ভবি নো চ ভবেত মৃত্যুঃ।

The king was thunderstruck at these requests. He said it was beyond his power to grant such assurances—that even Rishis were not free from disease and death. On this, the prince asked for his father's blessing on his intended enterprize.

The old man, with a fortitude which can never be too much admired, while burning with the desire of detaining his son and indeed adopting precautionary measures against his going out, nevertheless gave him his paternal blessing—adding that emancipation from the world was certainly a subject of congratulation.

অনুমোদনী হিতকরী জগতি প্রমোদন

অভিপ্রায় তুভ্য পরিপূর্য্যতু যশস্তত্তে

The prince did not however go out immediately. He heard of the birth of a son and went into the female department—where the ladies tried all their skill in music and singing and other agreeable occupations to divert his mind—but all to no purpose. Their efforts could not reconcile his mind to a world he had determined to renounce. And when, tired and exhausted, they fell asleep—careless, and off their guard, their appearance served only to heighten his disgust. He at once proceeded to put his long cherished projects into execution, and overcoming the temptation with which the wicked Mara (মারঃ পাপীরান্) assailed him, and the difficulties he throw in the way, Siddhartha became, first an ascetic, and then Buddha.

In this summary of the early life of Siddhartha or Gotama Buddha, which I have taken chiefly from the *Lalita Vistara*, a Sanscrit Buddhistic work of Nepal, printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, in this summary I say, you have those elements of Buddhistic philosophy, in which the whole of that community concurs—from central Asia in the North to the extreme limits of China and Ceylon. Peculiar schools may have arisen in Nepal—new terms and ideas may have been invented in Ceylon—but all are agreed in the principles involved in the legendary account of Sakya's life—all are agreed that those principles form the basis of their system. Now, let us consider, for a moment, what those principles are. Sakya was disgusted with life because of the instances of decrepitude, disease and death which met his eyes, and hence he preached every where that the world was an assemblage of essential and incurable evils. জরা মরণ ব্যাধি are the great torments of life, and he and his

doctrine—a doctrine which had been unheard of, in the world before his time (বোধিসত্ত্বস্য পূৰ্বমশ্রুতেশ্চ ধৰ্মেষু)—these were the great remedies for the perils of life. He was the great physician of souls for the cure of those evils.

জরা মরণ বিঘাতী ভিষগুর ইবোদগতঃ

Brooding over this melancholy view of human existence, Gotama proceeded to teach that the world was a sheer nothing—a mere *maya* or illusion—a *mirage* or deceptive appearance—a shadow without substance—a mere froth or flash of lightning :

সৰ্ব্ব অনিত্যা অকামা অকুৰা ন চ শান্ততাপি ন তপ্পাঃ

যয়া মরীচি সদৃশা বিদ্যুৎ ফেণোপমানচপলাঃ ।

On this teaching is founded the *trilakana* or three signs—and these the Buddhist tells on his beads, muttering, *anitta, dukam, anatta*, or transiency, trouble, unreality.

The great cardinal points of Buddhist philosophy accordingly are—1st, that the external world is an unreality and an assemblage of evils—and 2ndly, that there can be no effectual escape from these but by the attainment of Nirvāṇa or *mukti*. Both words are found in Buddhist philosophy, though the former is more frequently used and has been corrupted into *nigban*. *Nigban* and *mukti* are necessarily negative ideas. They simply mean release from sensuous existence—but the Buddhists contend that they involve the acquirement of all bliss. “No thing, no place, say the Buddhist priests, can give us any adequate idea of *nigban*—we can only say that to be free from the miseries of life and to obtain salvation is *nigban*.” “Here,” said Buddha, “that ignorance and worldly lust, which are ever productive of mischief, are burnt up from their corrupt roots, by the great fire of knowledge.”

ইহ সা অকার্যকরী ভবতৃষ্ণাচারিণী তথাহিবিদ্যা,

সানুশরমূলজালা মহাজ্ঞানাগ্নিনা দগ্ধা ।

“Here I have, by the boat of Resolution, got over the ocean of the world, infested with the aquatic monster of lust, and agitated by the waves of the waters of desire, excited by an evil eye.”

ইহ রাগমদনমকরং তৃষ্ণোর্মিজলং কুদৃষ্টিসংগুহং ।

সংসারসাগরমহং সন্তীর্ণো দীর্ঘাবলনাবা ॥

And now I will revert to what has already been said of the Nyaya and other systems of Brahminical philosophy. The similarity between these and the Buddhist systems is most striking. We find the same description of the evils of life in

both—the same condemnation of the world and of sensuous existence, the same aversion to transmigration—the same aspiration for release from sensuous life—and the same ineffable ideas of Nirvana and Mukti. And the analogy curiously holds good here. The Brahminical schools are not agreed as to the nature of existence in the state of *mukti*—some, the Nyaya and Sankhya for instance, consider it a simple release from body and mind—or a state in which there is existence, but not sensation and reflection; others, the Vedantists for example, define it as a sort of absorption in Brahma who is also without body and mind, but is nevertheless described as a receptacle of knowledge and thought.

অপাণিপাদো জ্বনো গুহীত
 পশ্যত্যচক্ষুঃ স শৃণোত্যকর্ণঃ।
 স বেতি সেন্যং ম ত তস্যাঙ্তি বেত্তা
 তমাচ্ছরগুণং পুরুষং মহাশ্বত্ ॥

The Buddhists have the same variety of opinions too. They have those, the Swabhavikas for example, who either disbelieve altogether, or ignore an Intelligent first cause, and *nirvana*, in their estimation, as in the conception of the Nyaya and Sankhya, can only be described by negatives. It is not existence with body or mind. It is not a state in which the soul can be tormented by corporeal pain or agitated by mental disquietude. It is, as the Nyaya describes it—a sound sleep without dreams.

They have again those, the Aiswarikas for example, who acknowledge a Supreme Intelligence, the author and creator of the universe, identifying him with Adi-Buddha or the first Buddha. In their conception, as in that of the Vedant, the soul when blessed with nirvan is absorbed in the Supreme Being. It enjoys all the happiness and bliss which are concentrated in Buddha. It is endowed with the Buddhahip, as writers on the subject have expressed it—and, in his eternity and essential placidness, it partakes of that freedom from transience, disease, and decay, which, in their estimation, is supreme felicity.

Reverting to the question how and when the Brahmins first began to describe the world as an assemblage of pure evil—a phantom, a shadow—and to exhibit an impatience of sensuous life, looking upon *mukti* or release from transmigration as *নিঃশ্রেয়স*, *পরমার্থ*, or the chief good, reverting to this question, I think I may here suggest that these ideas appear to have been thrown into the definite shapes they now bear in all the systems of Hindu philosophy, after the model and under the influence of Buddhistic philosophy. The ideas of

life and of *mukti* are so singularly alike in the two systems, that we can hardly resist the conclusion that the one must have been taken from the other. The only question is, which is the borrower and which the lender. I think the Hindu is the borrower and the Buddhist the lender, and I shall now submit my reasons for so thinking.

The Buddhist has *always* held that the world is a shadow without a substance—an assemblage of evils—*anitta*, *dukam*, *anatta*. He has also *always* held that the only escape from this *trilakan* is in *nirvan* or release from the necessity of transmigration. Take a Buddhist of any age you like—the present era, or five hundred years back, or a thousand years back, or two thousand years back—and ask him—from whom and how did his corporation first get these theories of the unrecality of the world and of the necessity of *nirvan* and *mukti*. He will at once answer—from the great Sakhya Singha, from him who felt disgusted with the world when he saw decrepitude, death, and disease—who renounced a home which people would call happy, abandoned a palace replete with fascinations by which others were spell-bound, and betook himself to the life of a hermit in order to save those around him from the trammels of life.

Ask now the Hindu philosopher how he came to learn the same teaching, and he will not be able to give anything like an intelligible, to say nothing of a circumstantial, account. He cannot say how he came to the possession of his fondly-cherished doctrine. He cannot pretend he has always enjoyed it. He cannot put in a plea of immemorial possession—for you can disprove such a plea—you can point out a period when he decidedly knew nothing of what he now reveres as transcendental. His primitive literature gives no lesson on the miseries of life, decay, and transmigration, nor inculcates the necessity of *nirvan* or *mukti*. There all is natural and nothing transcendental. Men performed rites and ceremonies under a sense of duty, and expected the favour of heaven in return, both as regarded their welfare of the present and the future world. *Mâyá-váda* or the theory of the world's unreality was then unknown. When, then, it may be asked, was it first taught? Who introduced it, where, and when? What is the history of this great innovation—this transition from doctrines *natural*, to a transcendental theory involving a denial of the material world? How came the Hindu system into possession of that which it did not possess originally, and which is clearly, not a natural development of its primitive doctrine?

This difficulty appears to have occurred to the author of the *Bhagvad-gita*, who, after affirming that the transcendental doc-

trines of modern Hindu philosophy were revealed to certain mythical sages at the beginning of the world, is obliged to confess that the teaching was subsequently lost by the lapse of time until renewed by himself.

ইহং বিবদতে যোগং প্রৌক্তবানহমব্যয়ং বিবদান্ মনবে প্রাহ মনুর্দিক্কাৎ
বেদবীহঃ ॥ এবং পরম্পরাপ্রাপ্তমিমং রাজর্ষয়ো বিদুঃ। স কালেনেহ মহতা
যোগো নষ্টঃ পরম্পরং ॥ স এবায়ং ময়া তেহ্য যোগঃ প্রৌক্তঃসম্যক্তনঃ।
ভক্তোসি যে সখা চেতি রহস্যং ক্ষেত্ৰদ্রুতমং ।

This is a confession, quite sufficient for historical purposes, that the transcendental theories are of a modern origin. And the assertion which follows, that the doctrine remained originally with *royal* saints of the very family from which Buddha was descended, may be considered as a further admission of its derivation from Buddhism.

In all countries whenever a novel doctrine is broached, different from and opposed to the received opinions of priests and nobles, its propounder necessarily becomes a marked person, perhaps revered by some but condemned by others—and the doctrine is at once connected with his name. For the transcendental doctrines of the Hindu philosophy, however, no individual has ever been personally marked or noted, except the founder of Buddhism—and as we cannot detect traces of them in the Pre-buddhistic portion of the Hindu literature, we can hardly resist the conclusion that they were borrowed from Buddhism. And this conclusion is only strengthened by noticing in some Hindu writings a sweeping condemnation of those doctrines, and especially of this theory of *maya* stigmatized as Buddhism in disguise. Siva is represented in the Padma Purana as confessing to his wife Parvati, that he had himself inculcated those *doctrines of darkness*, with a view to bring about the destruction of the world :

মায়াবাদমসম্বাদং প্রচ্ছন্নং বৌদ্ধমেব চ।
মমৈব কথিতং দেবি কলৌ বুদ্ধগুরুপিণা ॥
বেদার্থদম্বহাশাস্ত্রং মায়াবাদমমৈবৈদিকং।
মমৈব কথিতং দেবি জগতাং নাশকারণাং ॥

But it may here be asked, are not the Upanishads pre-buddhistic writings, and do they not contain the transcendental doctrines of Hindu philosophy? In answer to this question I shall affirm and endeavour to prove :

1st. That those Upanishads which are, or may be conceded to be, Pre-buddhistic, do not contain the transcendental doctrines just referred to—certainly not in anything like definite

shapes—and, assuredly, not the *Mayavada*, or the theory of the unreality of the world.

2dly. That those Upanishads which do inculcate the doctrines in question are clearly of later date than the Vedic period and may be reasonably considered Post-buddhistic.*

The Upanishads on which the Hindu philosophy relies are the *Taittiriya*, the *Aitareya*, the *Kena*, the *Katha*, the *Prasna*, the *Isa*, the *Mundaka*, the *Mandukya*, the *Brihadaranyaka*, the *Chhandogya*, the *Svetasvatara*. All these do not inculcate the transcendental doctrine, that existence with body and mind is a sore evil—that our only remedy is emancipation from such existence, celestial or earthly—and that the universe with all its contents is but a phantom, a shadow. Such of them as do inculcate these ideas exhibit clear proofs of a riper age than the period of the Vedas.

Of the first three I have mentioned, the *Taittiriya*, *Kena*, and *Aitareya*, I do not wish to dispute the antiquity. Assign them to the Vedic period if you like. But they do not teach the transcendental doctrines just mentioned. On the contrary they repeatedly promise as the rewards of knowledge, offspring, cattle, food, and heavenly enjoyments, and they say nothing of that final emancipation with which, not only earthly possessions but heavenly enjoyments also, are incompatible. The *Isa* says that a person performing his duty in the world is to desire a life of 100 years—কুর্ষনৈবেদ্যে কৰ্ম্মাণি জিজীবিষেচ্ছতং সমাঃ। The *Prasna* too promises offspring and immortality—not *mukti*—and is so far from inculcating the *maya-vada*, that the word *maya* occurs in it in the sense of a moral turpitude akin to falsehood and deceit, unworthy the unstained purity of the world of Brahma—not in the philosophical sense of an illusion. The *Mandukya* too notwithstanding the grand *Karika* which Goudapāda has made on it, has nothing to say against the reality of the world. It promises the attainment of *all desires*, including *pre-eminence* and a *learned progeny*, as the rewards of knowledge.

With reference to the *Brihadaranyaka* and *Chhandogya*, their antiquity, or, at any rate, their freedom from interpolations, is not quite clear. Both contain indications of a more advanced age, in which other works than Vedas had become celebrated under the titles of *Itihasa*, *Purana*, *Sutra*,—while one of them, the *Chhandogya*, speaks also of ভূতবিদ্যা, ঋতবিদ্যা, সর্গবিদ্যা, as well as of works on argumentation and rhetoric. It tells us also of Krishna, son of Devaki, who had received lessons from one

* Professor Goldstucker shows in his introduction to the *Manava Kalpa Sutra*, that some of the *Brahmanas* and all the *Upanishads* were unknown in the age of Panini.

Ghorā, son of Angiras. তদ্ব্যোম আঞ্জিরসঃ কৃষ্ণায় দেবকীপুত্রায় উক্তবাহ। It may be said that দেবকীপুত্র is not in keeping with the ordinary forms of patronymics found in this Upanishad, such as জাবাল son of জবাল হারিক্রমত son of হরিক্রমঃ শৌনক son of শুনক, but that consideration, as far as it is admissible as a defence of its antiquity, must just so far also suggest suspicions of interpolation. It is singular that these two Upanishads contain but a few detached references to the transcendental doctrine of নির্বাণ or মুক্তি in the midst of a large array of sensuous rewards promised to the attainment of true knowledge. The sensuous rewards are numerous and constantly repeated—the transcendental are few and detached. Life for sixteen hundred years—the free choice of any pleasures which the world may contribute, *food, drink, perfumery, music*, not excluding those of the conjugal state, are the boons which the Upanishads repeatedly promise; while it is but once or twice that they tell us that those who attain to knowledge—*do not revolve again*—which the commentator, Sankara, understands to imply a release from the necessity of transmigration. If then, these Upanishads really belong to the Vedic period, and the story of *Krishna, the son of Devaki*, must be an interpolation, what guarantee can possibly be supposed against a similar interpolation of this faint notion of a release from transmigration, which is found by the side of so many boons of sensuous enjoyment—boons as much at variance with the idea of নির্বাণ, as the ordinary Vedic patronymics are with the form *Devaki putra*?

But even the Upanishads last mentioned do not inculcate the doctrine of *maya*, nor lead us to look upon birth and sensuous existence as essential evils.

The transcendental ideas of modern schools have a more definite shape in the *Mundaka* and the *Katha*—but these are Upanishads which we have still greater reasons for assigning to a riper age than that of the Vedas. The *Mundaka* indicates its own age by despising the Rich, Yajush, Saman, and Atharva Vedas as repositories of inferior doctrine—very much after the fashion of Sakya Muni himself. তত্রাপরা যথুর্বেদো সামবেদো অথর্ববেদঃ শিক্ষা কপ্পো ব্যাকরণং নিরুক্তং হন্দো জ্যোতিষং । The *Mundaka* must then have been written in an age when the Hindus had learnt to speak disparagingly of the Vedas. Is it too much to say that such an age was posterior to that of Buddha? And as to the *Katha*, Dr. Roer has shown that it bears internal evidence of being composed after the Sankhya and Yoga Schools were established—which were after the age of Buddha. But even the *Mundaka* and *Katha*, notwithstanding their coun-

tenance to other transcendental ideas do not uphold the theory of Maya. ●

We have now only one Upanishad remaining, the Swetaswatara, to be disposed of. Here we certainly see the characteristic tenets of modern schools in their full-grown shape, but we also see there, quite as certainly, marks of a still more advanced era in the history of the Hindu philosophy. In the first place it commences with mootings, with a view to refute, some of the very theories for which Buddhistic schools are held notorious in Brahminical traditions, and which were quite unknown in the simpler age of the Vedas. "Is Brahma the cause? whence are we produced? Is time, nature, or succession of works, or chance, or the elements, or Purusha the cause? কিং কারণং বন্ধু কৃতঃ স্ব জাতাঃ। কালস্থভাবো নিয়তি যদৃচ্ছা ভূতানি যোনিঃ পুরুষ ইতি চিন্ত্য।

In the second place it speaks of a legend, which belongs to the age of the Puranas, of the Supreme Being causing the Vedas to be produced through the created god Brahmā—otherwise called Prajapati যো ব্রহ্মাণ্য বিদধাতি পূর্য্য যো ঐব বেদাংস প্রহিণোতি তস্মৈ।

In the third place, it not only speaks of the Sankhya and the Yoga schools by name, but uses several terms peculiar to them, such as প্রধান প্রকৃতি সাক্ষী and describes two eternal principles which the followers of those schools are fond of quoting to this day in defence of their theory. অজ্ঞায়েকং লোহিতকৃষ্ণবর্ণাং বন্ধীঃ প্রজাঃ সৃজমানাং নরূপাং। অজ্ঞো হ্যেকো ভূব-মাণোহনুশেষে জহাতোনাং ভক্তভোগ্যামজ্ঞো হন্যঃ। This shows it was posterior to the age of the Sankhya and Yoga.*

In the fourth place it appears to have been composed by a Saiva writer—a follower of Siva—after the legendary acts of that god had gained currency. The words Rudra, Isana, Hara, Bhava, Maheswara, which are all proper names of Siva, are interspersed in it as designations of the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being is again accosted as গিরিশস্ত্র and গিরিত্র, or protector of the mountains, holding an arrow in his hand. He has also a Sivá or Aghorá, as his body personified, in the sense of a female emanation. These are descriptions which can only become intelligible by referring them to Siva, the lord of Kailasa and Himalaya, joined to Parvati otherwise called Sivá, originally an emanation from himself.

The Swetaswatara Upanishad must therefore be assigned to a much later period than the age of the Vedas—and thus we see on the one hand that those Upanishads which may be de-

* It is only just that I should here mention a verse of the Rig-Veda Samhita which is identical with one of the verses of the Swetaswatara adverted to in the text.

clared Pre-buddhistic do not inculcate the fundamental doctrines of modern Hindu philosophy, and on the other that those which do contain those doctrines belong to a much later age.

Now let us once more review those fundamental doctrines. They are, that birth is an essential evil—that existence with body and mind is pure misery—that the world is an assemblage of vanities, death, decay, disease—জন্মমরণজরারোগাদ্য-নৈকানর্থজাল as Sankaracharaya sums them up—that it is (as popular Vedantists add) a fiction of *অবিদ্যা*—an illusion, a shadow without substance—that our only escape from these evils is in a final release from the necessity of transmigration or *নির্বাণ*, মুক্তি, অপবর্গ—that this alone is a state of supreme felicity, and that no other reward of earthly prosperity or heavenly enjoyment is worth the name.

But these are the very doctrines which lie at the foundation of Buddhistic philosophy. That philosophy is erroneously considered to have for its ultimate object the overthrow of caste and the rejection of the Vedas. It certainly does not magnify the institution of caste—but it *recognizes* that institution. It teaches (as we read in Hardy's manual) that certain wicked acts are punished by birth in some inferior caste, or by premature death—and that certain virtues are rewarded by birth as a Khatra or a Brahman and by length of life. If it denied the spiritual supremacy of Brahmans or the connection of caste with *নির্বাণ*, it did nothing more than the Hindu philosophy itself does—or than some of the sects habitually teach. তাত্ত্বিক স্বধর্ম্য চরণাশ্রয় হরে ভজ্ঞপকোথ পতেন্ততো যদি। যত ক্ববা ভদ্রভদ্রমুখ্য কিং কৌ বার্গ আশো ভজ্ঞতা স্বধর্মতঃ ॥ Buddhists as a body say nothing stronger against caste.

Nor do the Buddhists consider the rejection of the Vedas as a fundamental principle of their system. They of course say that the rites and ceremonies inculcated in the Vedas cannot procure supreme felicity—but this is not greater antagonism to those writings than is found in the Sankhya Sutras, which teach precisely the same lesson—and in the Bhagavad-gita which apply the epithet of fools to those who, addicted to the Vedas, think there is no better way. যামিমাং পুষ্টিতাং বাচ্য প্রবদন্ত্যবিপাকিতঃ। বেদবাদবতঃ পার্থ নান্যদভীতি বাদিনঃ The Vedas are moreover there stigmatized as connected with the three qualities—ত্রেগুণবিষয়া বেদা নিতৈশ্চুগুণো ভবাজ্জন। And I have already cited a passage from one of the Upanishads themselves denouncing the Vedas as inferior science.

Nor again is the Buddhistic philosophy to be considered as founded on atheism. There are indeed atheistic schools comprised in it—but there are also schools comprised in

the Hindu philosophy—the Sankhya for instance. And numerous passages may be cited from other Hindu authorities maintaining there is no God above nature, and *karma* which means *adrishta* is every thing. Thus in the Sri Bhagavata: কর্মণ জায়তে জন্তুঃ কর্মণৈব প্রলীয়তে। সুখং দুঃখং ভয়ং ক্লেমং কর্মণৈবাতি পদ্যাতে ॥ স্বভাবতঃ হি জনঃ স্বভাবমনুবর্ততে। স্বভাবস্থমিদং সৰ্বং সন্দেহাসুরমানুষং ॥ শক্রমিত্রমুদাসীনঃ কশ্মৈব ধরুর্দীপকঃ।

What then are the elementary principles of the Buddhist philosophy? The same which are conspicuous in the traditional account of Sakya Muni's life. He was disgusted with the world when he saw decrepitude, disease and death. He taught that the world is an assemblage of evils, that birth is a misery and life a torment, that the universe is a vanity, a shadow without substance. On this teaching his followers afterwards formed their *trilakana* to be daily muttered when telling their beads—*anitta—dukam,—anatta,—transcience, trouble, unreality.* The only effectual escape from them being *nirvan* or *mukti*.

We see then that the fundamental principles of the Hindu philosophy are precisely the same as the fundamental principles of the Buddhistic philosophy. Here comes then the important historical inquiry. How did the two rival sects come to the possession of doctrines precisely alike—and held by both as fundamental principles? Is it possible that they could be the results of original speculations in each without either borrowing from the other? The doctrines themselves are most unnatural—they are not such as might be suggested by the progressive cultivation of mental science—for they are opposed to those feelings and sentiments which enter into the constitution of the human mind. The conclusion is inevitable—that one must have borrowed from the other.

But which was the borrower and which the lender? I have already said that the Hindu cannot give a circumstantial account of the doctrines in question—and they are opposed to the plain teaching of his earlier literature. The advocates of those doctrines again speak slightly of that literature. If the Hindu philosophy got at them by its unassisted speculations, is it possible that the name of the original teacher would not be handed down to posterity—by some as the great regenerator of mankind, the remover of the evils of life, death, decay and decrepitude—by others as the first reviler of the Veda and of gods and caste? The Hindu then cannot account for his possession of those transcendental doctrines—nor can he show that he possessed them before the age of Sakya Muni.

Ask the Buddhist to account for his possession of them, and

he gives you a circumstantial narrative which history and tradition corroborate to some extent. He tells you he got his doctrines from Sakhya Muni—who was disgusted with life at an early age, and who, under the influence of those doctrines, abandoned his home which was a palace—renounced his dignity, which was that of heir-apparent to a kingdom—and cut asunder the tenderest ties which could ever bind a man to affectionate relatives, or a prince to devoted subjects.

Such is the Buddhist's account, which, without deciding how far it is historical and how far allegorical or mythical, you are bound to receive as satisfactory to the extent of his not borrowing his fundamental principles from extraneous teachers. His account again is not only confirmed by the traditions of several kingdoms and races over which his system has spread, but also by certain writers in the Hindu camp itself, who declare that the theory of Maya is only Buddhism in disguise.

I have thus a right to say that the fundamental doctrines of the Hindu philosophy are borrowed from the Buddhistic—that they are not found in pre-buddhistic writings—that Buddhism had so far insinuated itself into Hindu circles that Brahminical teachers themselves unconsciously took up the principles of their adversaries when India was cleared of them—and that at the very moment when the followers of Sakya Muni left their country as exiles, his *doctrines and principles* got the firmest footing on the soil which the Brahmans thought, erroneously, they had successfully weeded.

I think I may also say that it was Sakya's example which afterwards led to the establishment and toleration of *Sects* and schools in the bosom of the Hindu system. The rules of the Society will not allow me to enter at large into this speculation. But I may mention one or two historical facts. Before the Buddhistic period, the Hindu community had no *Sects*. Each caste had its proper duties and the voice of society ensured their performance. No one dared to impugn the rites and ceremonies of the Vedas. Since the Buddhistic period we have sects and schools without number—men from different classes rallying round some favourite doctrine, forsaking caste and home, and forming communities of their own under different titles, in all parts of India, independent of the Vedic ritual and Brahminical rules. Buddha was the first to set such an example. The first example was naturally opposed by the voice of society which would not tolerate such an innovation. The attempt was considered singularly audacious, because it had no parallel in the traditions of the age. His followers were accordingly branded as heretics and after a sanguinary struggle banished from the country. The banishment

of Buddhists was the triumph of their principles in the very soil which they were compelled to abandon. Ever since that time society has become more tolerant. Teacher after teacher has founded sects and schools precisely on the principles of Sakya—viz. on the necessity of some higher doctrine for the final liberation of the soul—and the Indian community has, not only, *not opposed* them, but it concedes to this day the palm of superior sanctity to such teachers. Yogis, Vairagis and other ascetics are now held in high estimation. It is only when they are suspected of hypocrisies and inconsistencies that they are despised—but the *principle* of renouncing caste and home for a transcendental doctrine, even on the part of inferior classes, is in itself considered laudable. Such asceticism, however, did not exist before the age of Buddha—it would certainly not be tolerated in the inferior castes*—and it is one of the greatest anomalies in human nature to find against Buddhistic doctrine an array of philosophers and sects, whose own systems are founded on the principles which Sakya taught—and perhaps owe their success to the changes produced in society by Sakya's example.

* The inferior castes were actually punished as felons if they presumed to engage in religious exercises. See the extracts from the Ramayana in my "Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy," pp. 44—46.



LECTURE
ON
SIR ISAAC NEWTON,
HIS LIFE DISCOVERIES AND CHARACTER,
BY THE
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Although the human race have existed upon the earth for nearly sixty centuries, it is scarcely two since that Great Law was discovered which binds together the several parts of the universe and regulates their motion. So long did man, though endowed with the same high gift of reason as at present, remain ignorant of the principles with which the Almighty Creator has endowed matter, and through the constant operation of which all that order and harmony are produced in the various phenomena of the physical world, which have ever been the wonder and admiration of thinking men through successive ages.

I am to-night to call your attention to the man whose happy lot it was to penetrate into the hidden causes, which produce all these varied and complicated effects; and who by that and other discoveries has left a name which will never perish, wherever civilization and reason have their due influence.

I intend 1st, to give a rapid sketch of HIS HISTORY.

2ndly, to notice the CHIEF DISCOVERIES AND WORKS which have immortalized his name, and

3dly, to trace the leading features of HIS CHARACTER.

Sir Isaac Newton was born in the year 1642 and lived to the great age of 84. This was the more remarkable, as his infancy and childhood were feeble and seemed hardly to promise a life of even the average length. We may divide his life into three nearly equal portions, consisting of 27, 28, and 29 years respectively. The first extends from his birth to his taking a prominent position in the University of Cambridge, as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. The second

period comprises his residence at Cambridge from the date of his becoming Professor. The third comprises his residence in London, where he died, in 1727, one century and a third ago.

The First of these Periods I may call the educational period of his life—when his mind was passing through its various stages, up to the freshness and vigour of his earlier manhood. During this time he was gathering information, making experiments, forming conclusions, and laying the foundation of the period which followed, and which was so fruitful of discovery.

At the age of twelve he went to a public school at Grantham in Lincolnshire, not far from his native place. At first he neglected the studies of the school, and addicted himself to mechanical pursuits; while yet a boy he constructed a windmill, a water clock, a self-moving carriage, and sun-dials.

His mother designed him to be a farmer; but soon found that the farm would not flourish under a youth whose mind was incessantly absorbed in other and higher thoughts. His course was accordingly changed, and in his 19th year he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Though he had early manifested a capacity for mechanical invention, those great powers which were to become the wonder of the world had lain dormant up to this time. He appears to have entered upon his university course with a more slender amount of knowledge than ordinary scholars at his age possessed. CAMBRIDGE was, in fact, to be the real birth-place of Newton's genius. Having gone through the usual course, he took his Bachelor of Arts degree early in his 23d year. In rapid succession the first ideas of his leading discoveries were now developed one after the other. In the year he graduated the first conception of his theory of Fluxions seems to have occurred. In the next year, when driven from Cambridge by the plague to his native home, the first practical ideas of Gravitation occupied his thoughts. He began his experiments on Light and Colours about the same time. Two years after his degree, he was elected fellow of his College: and two years later, (that is, in his 27th year) he was elevated to the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics at Cambridge, in succession to the celebrated Dr. Barrow, his College tutor, who had early marked the dawns of his prodigious genius, and resigned in his favour.

Thus from becoming, I may say, a Pupil and a Student, and being well furnished by his studies, his observations, and experiments, to assume the post, he took the important position of being a Professor and Teacher of others. This brings us

to what I have designated the Second Period of his life, extending over 28 years, including his subsequent residence in the University of Cambridge.

I have already told you that the first germs of his great discoveries appeared somewhat before this—shortly after he had passed the university examination for his degree. But it was during the first two-thirds of this second period—or between his 27th and his 45th years—that his discoveries were so matured as to assume that definite form in which they were given to the scientific world.

It is difficult to fix the precise dates of his discoveries, partly because a long interval generally occurred between the first conception being formed in his mind and its being made public. This arose from a singular indifference to fame, and also from a shrinking from discussion and from encountering irritating objections and cavils, indulged in by men of inferior minds, and calculated only to consume valuable time in calling for replies to matters which were already, to his deeper penetration, clear and unquestionable. His proper work was the *discovery of truth*—not the retailing of discovered truths in explanations which only ordinary minds could require. This he would rather have left to others. But in spite of himself he was destined to share the lot of all who advance new views:—viz. to see them controverted and assailed by most unreasonable quibbles, which yet require an answer which the originator himself is best able to produce.

I would fix his discovery of Fluxions in the first year of this Period; of the composition of Light three years later; of the theory of Universal Gravitation twelve years after this, in his 42nd year, when he solved the central and fundamental problem of the whole system.

During the two following years he composed his *Principia*, or Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, in which he unfolds his theory of Universal Gravitation; and in 1687 sent it forth, the “greatest monument”—as it has been called—“of human genius which the world has seen.”

Through the whole of this period, and indeed in earlier years too, he was devoted also to theological studies; so as to bear the reputation, in the University, of being “an excellent divine.” As early as his 22nd year, and down from that date, are found notes and annotations which prove, that amongst his new and absorbing investigations he made religion also his careful study, especially the Christian Scriptures.

In the year in which the *Principia* was published he took a prominent part in resisting the encroachments of King James II. on the liberties of the University. Two years later he was

chosen to be the Representative of the University in Parliament; in which office he served a year. During this year he became acquainted with the celebrated Locke, also with Huyghens the philosopher, and with other great men.

In the midst of his pressing engagements at this time he hastened down into the country to attend the bed-side of his dying mother—a beautiful episode in his life of labour and absorbing thought, which shows how the great philosopher was amenable to the tenderest sympathies of our nature.

In the latter part of this second period of his life there is one year which is invested in some obscurity. A veil of *mystery* has been very needlessly thrown over this brief period of his history, apparently to serve a very unworthy purpose, as I shall have occasion to show when I come to speak of his character. This circumstance in Newton's life illustrates very strongly the mischief we may do by building great consequences upon slender and inadequate foundations. Every incident in a great man's life is seized on with avidity by the historian or biographer. But the love of truth and fidelity to historic accuracy should make us especially jealous of admitting mere after-thoughts and surmises to have a place in circumstantial narrative.

We gather from Newton's own letters that in 1692-3 he was suffering from severe sickness. He lost his sleep, and want of rest appears on some occasions to have altogether disturbed his usual equilibrium of mind and temper. One or two expressions regarding this affliction, violently overstrained, have been made to represent him as having lost his understanding! And this assertion has been still further magnified into his never having recovered his former powers. These rash conclusions, however, are utterly refuted by the fact, that during this year he wrote four celebrated letters to Dr. Bentley, in answer to his enquiries, on the constitution of the universe, which mark no diminution of power whatever. And it was soon after this, that he sent in, anonymously, a solution of a difficult problem which had been proposed by Bernoulli as a challenge to Europe, who, without any previous knowledge that Newton had entered the lists, detected his genius, and declared that he knew *ex ungue leonem* i. e. the *Lion* from his *claw*, a compliment which gives no indication that Newton's intellect was impaired. Previous to his illness his mind had been under a constant strain in tracing out the intricacies of his Lunar Theory. But after his recovery he pursued the same investigations and was perpetually improving his Principia. Besides this, he created his theory of astronomical refractions, solved difficult problems, such as the one proposed

by Leibnitz to test (as he said) the English Mathematicians, wrote a profound letter to Leibnitz regarding his Calculus, made valuable additions to his Optics, and entered deeply into enquiries in chronology and history and theological literature. The powers of his mind were therefore in full vigour after his illness—from which indeed he was entirely recovered at the end of this Second Period of his history.

We have thus followed him through the First Period, as the sickly infant, the idle precocious school-boy given to his mechanical inventions; in his youth, the unwilling and absent farmer, and then the successful student at the University, where his natural genius found an atmosphere congenial to its development. Next we have traced him through the Second Period of his history, as the Professor and the profound Philosopher, unravelling the secrets of nature, engaged in all the varied calls which a University life entails, and absorbed in incessant thought.

We have now to follow him to the last Period, when he quitted the University in the service of his sovereign, to undertake a reform in the currency of the realm, as Warden and then Master of the Mint, a post for which his original investigations in chemistry particularly fitted him. His income had hitherto been inadequate to meet the demands which a man of his position would have upon him. But this appointment, conferred upon him through the influence of his college friend and admirer the Earl of Halifax, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and through the favour of his Sovereign, freed him for the future from all such anxiety.

His residence in London gave him greater opportunities than he had hitherto enjoyed of personal intercourse with philosophers and great men of other countries, who visited the English Court, and sought also the acquaintance of the man whose renown had spread through Europe. His office too brought him more than before to the notice of the king: and in the Princess of Wales he found an intelligent and admiring scholar. His attendance at the Royal Society was now uninterrupted. He was elected President shortly after his removal to London, and filled the post twenty-four years, till the day of his death.

His difference with Flamsteed, the Astronomer Royal, regarding the Greenwich observations—so necessary to Newton for perfecting his Lunar Theory, in providing him with which he considered Flamsteed did not act with that promptitude which might have been expected—and his controversy with Leibnitz regarding the Invention of Fluxions, are the only events which seem to have interfered with his peace and com-

fort during this last part of his long life. He enjoyed the friendship and high esteem of the great men of his day, and was looked up to by the few who could at all appreciate his powers, as a prodigy and an oracle such as no age had ever seen.

He died in March 1727. His body lay in state, and, borne to the tomb by nobles of the land, was deposited in Westminster Abbey, that it might have a resting-place among the great of every age.

I am now to give you some account of his leading DISCOVERIES AND WRITINGS, for which he is celebrated.

Such a field is too vast to be travelled over in a single lecture. I must classify his discoveries under a few general heads ; and then select from each the *leading idea* which opened to him the vast consequences which unfolded themselves before his mind, and which he did not merely leave to posterity to follow up, but developed so largely himself. This leading idea in each case was so simple, that you may almost wonder that others had not previously struck upon it. But this is one of the characteristics of true philosophy, that its elements are simple ; and the *mind* of the philosopher is exhibited in his power of detecting these principles, of separating them from the creations of his own fancy, and of allowing nature in her simplicity to speak and guide him along the path of truth.

This is eminently the character of Newton's philosophy, and this is the reason why he so greatly excelled. In this was his genius seen.

His discoveries and investigations may be classed under four heads—as I have already intimated.

- I. The properties of Light and Colours.
- II. Mathematical Reasoning.
- III. The law of Universal Gravitation.
- IV. Theology; especially the Christian Scriptures.

The diagrams suspended before you are intended to illustrate the first three ; the fourth I shall not dwell upon here.

It will be desirable in each of the three cases to trace the state of scientific knowledge at the time of Newton's discoveries, that we may the better appreciate their importance.

I. First, I have to speak of his discoveries in LIGHT AND COLOURS. The varied tints which beautify the face of nature and more especially the gorgeous display of the Bow in the Clouds—so brilliant and so suddenly appearing and disappearing in the heavens—must often have engaged the speculations of men whose habit of mind led them to attempt to trace effects up to their causes. Accordingly Aristotle conjectured that the colours of the Rainbow arose from the light passing through

a dark medium. "The bright," he says, "seen through the dark appears red, as the sun through fog. Also the weaker the light the nearer the colour approaches to black—becoming first red, then green, then purple." De Dominis and afterwards Des Cartes threw out their conjectures; but all equally short of the mark. No property was detected, indeed no law was suspected or conjectured, which would connect all the varied colours in nature under the operation of one principle. Newton's own tutor, the learned Dr. Barrow, held that white is that which discharges a copious light; black is that which emits no light or very little; red, that which emits light more condensed; blue was a rarified light—and so on through the whole range, guesses at truth were substituted for truth itself, and difficulties were explained in language, if possible, more difficult to understand than the things themselves.

Now the new and simple idea which Newton propounded was, that—unexpected and extraordinary as it might appear—White Light, so clear transparent and colourless, is in fact a *Mixture of all conceivable Colours*, commingled in certain proportions. And further, that the reason why one body is red, another yellow, and a third blue is this; that each particular body upon which the day-light falls has the property of reflecting only those portions of the white light which go to make up by their mixture that particular colour which the body exhibits, and the rest are stifled and absorbed by the body itself. Thus no body has any colour inherent in itself. Were it possible to see red and blue bodies in the dark, they would possess no such hues. The colour comes from the white light which falls upon them, and from which they have the property of selecting and reflecting back that colour which is seen.

This of course leads on to another question: *How do bodies stifle colours?* But this is the case in all philosophy. Discovery will never lead us to an *ultimate material cause* beyond which no other lies. Cause and effect are so universal throughout nature, that we shall never get to the *end* or the *beginning* of things by the process of reasoning and questioning nature. The work of philosophy is to show that several phenomena, between which no connexion has hitherto been seen to exist, are nevertheless consequences of one and the same cause. And so again, that another group of phenomena are the consequences of another single cause. Thus the phenomena of the world are traced to a number of causes fewer far than the phenomena themselves. As philosophy advances, it lessens the number of these causes by showing that in many instances they have something in common. Order and simplicity are thus found to prevail; and the hand of a Supreme Intelligence is traced. And though, as

we advance in knowledge and discoveries, new facts and wonders multiply upon us and the *end* seems as far off as ever—yet law, harmony, and beauty are seen conspicuous in what we have explored, where incoherence and anomaly had seemed to divide nature into so many independent facts and fortuitous combinations.

Newton's simple conception brought within the operation of one universal principle the vast and varied wonders of colour of which the world is full, and therefore on this ground alone commends itself to us. But he was a philosopher of the first order; no conception however beautiful would find place with him as a law of nature, to which he was not led by a fair induction from experiment and observation. It is said that he had an abhorrence of the very term *hypothesis*. All his discoveries were built up upon the sure basis of *facts*: and so, passing from the ascertained and the demonstrated, he ascended to that pre-eminence from which no subsequent discoveries have displaced him.

The chief of the numerous experiments from which he deduced his new theory of light and colours are exhibited in the Four Diagrams which I will now explain.

[Here the lecturer described his large coloured diagrams which we represent imperfectly below—imperfectly, because the colours are omitted.

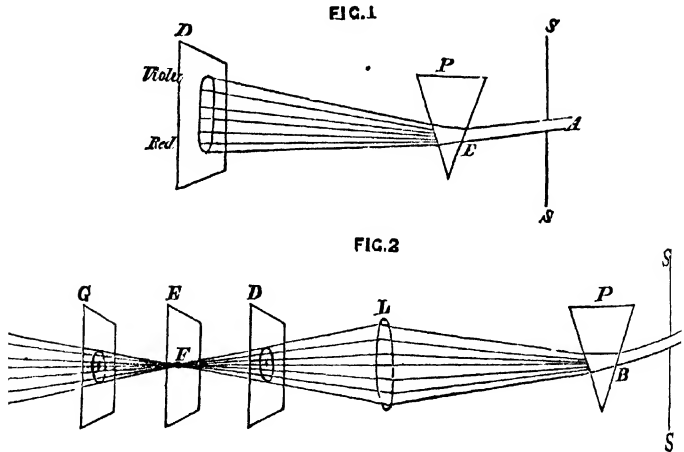


Fig. 1 represents the dispersion of a white beam of light into a gradation of colours, called the spectrum, of an infinite variety of hues from red to violet. AB is the white beam,

falling through a hole in a shutter SS into a dark room upon a prism of glass P. The prism is found in the experiment to bend the beam, and spread it out into a gradation of colours which are beautifully seen when a white screen D is interposed to catch them. Newton inferred from this and a multitude of similar experiments, that white light is the compound of light of all colours mixed in certain proportions.

But he foresaw that some might object that the colours on the left hand of the glass prism did not really arise altogether out of the white beam on the right, but were produced, in part at least, by some unknown property in the glass itself through which it passed.

Fig. 2. The experiment shown in this diagram was devised, as well as many others on the same principle, to refute this objection. L is a lens, or magnifying glass, by which the rays which emerge from the prism are brought to a focus at F. A screen is placed to intercept the rays, first in front of this focus as at D, when the colours are all seen on the screen, the red at the bottom and the violet at the top and all the gradations of colour between them. When the screen is removed to G, further off than F the focus, the same is seen, except that the colours are in the reverse order. But when the screen is removed to F itself, all colour disappears, and a bright white spot is seen : showing that the colours between L and F all combine in F to make white light, and that the same colours between F and G emerge from the white light in F. No proof could be more satisfactory than this experiment, of the re-composition of the white beam which fell in the first instance on the prism into the white-light focus at F.

[After this explanation, the lecturer proceeded.]

These two experiments give an excellent example of the two processes of analysis and synthesis : i. e. of proof, first by the separation of parts, and then by their re-union so as to produce the original object.

And I think you will hardly judge that I am digressing too much in noticing a beautiful suggestion which this law has led to :—That as LIGHT, an object so glorious, so beneficial, so cheering, and so sweet, is considered to be in some measure a fit emblem of the DEITY, who, indeed in a spiritual moral and intellectual sense *is* Light—so this property of light, that it is the glorious combination of all possible species of light, beautifully accords with the fact, that the Deity Himself comprises in his essence all spiritual moral and intellectual perfections—Power, Justice, Holiness, Knowledge, Wisdom, Mercy, Love—so mingled and lost in their separate identities as to make that glorious NAME, which is LIGHT ITSELF.

The next thing which Newton's experiments explain, is the property in the several colours which makes their separation possible. When our room is full of the beautiful light of day we have in that light a rich treasury of all the colours which it is possible to conceive. For every colour is either a simple colour of the spectrum, or is made up of a mixture of colours selected from it. What property is it which makes them separable, and separately visible? I have already said that when white light falls upon a body which we call coloured, it is coloured because the body *absorbs* all the other rays of the white beam which we do not see. But this is not the property I mean. What property is it which makes *all* the colours visible *at the same time*, as in the spectrum? This the 3rd and 4th diagrams will illustrate. The property is the *different degree of refrangibility* of the differently coloured rays. This was part of Newton's beautiful discovery: not solely that white light consists of rays of all colours combined, but that those rays have the property of being refracted, when once bent out of their course, in a *different degree*.

[Here the third and fourth diagrams were explained.

FIG. 3.

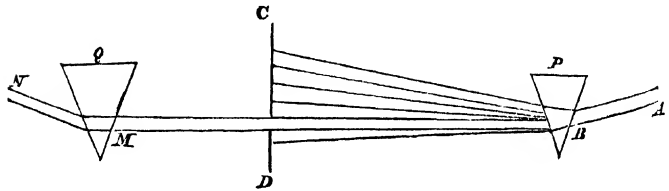


FIG. 4.

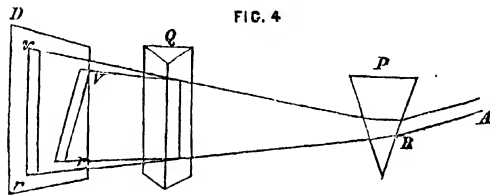


Fig. 3. The experiment shown in this diagram proves that the dispersed light, when once separated, cannot be separated still further by being again refracted; and therefore the colours of the spectrum are *simple*, and not compound. One coloured beam BM is allowed to pass through a hole in a screen CD, the other colours being stopped by the screen. This selected beam falls upon another prism Q, which refracts it into the new direction MN, but, as the experiment shows, does not

disperse it, as the first prism P did the white beam. The degree of the bending by the prism Q depends upon the colour, each colour having *its own refrangibility* as seen in fact in the very first experiment where the white beam is *dispersed* into a spreading beam so as to form the spectrum.

Sir Isaac Newton found that some of these colours could be made by compounding two together. Thus green, like that in the spectrum, could be made by mixing the blue and the yellow together—throwing for instance two spectra on the wall by two prisms and making them cross each other, at the blue of one and the yellow of the other, would produce a green. But *this green can be separated again* by a third prism into blue and yellow which the simple spectrum-green cannot be.

This difference of refrangibility, then, is seen to be an important and essential property of the spectrum-colours. Its effect is exhibited in all the colours together in the fourth diagram. Fig. 4. The colours dispersed by the prism P would fall on the screen D and form the spectrum *re*; but they are intercepted by another prism Q placed so as to bend each ray which falls upon it from the observer, the red least and the violet most. Thus the experiment shows a spectrum *re* V all aslant.]

Strange as it may seem, this discovery of the composition of light met with opposition, although based upon such undoubted facts and experiments. John Bernoulli, however, the great Mathematician, predicted what has come to pass, that this great discovery was one which would be more admired by posterity than it was in those days. Newton appears to have thought almost more of this discovery than of any of his others. It was indeed one to which no other person has made the slightest claim. The field was new and altogether unexplored and unprepared by any previous investigator. It was announced to the Royal Society in 1672, and the “solemn thanks” of that illustrious body voted to the ingenious author.

There was one important point in the nature of the solar spectrum which Newton missed—for that we might know that he *was human*, he made some misses—and that was, what is called, the Dispersive Power of transparent media.

[This was explained by the lecturer by a reference to the diagrams, and its bearing pointed out on achromatic telescopes, which Newton said never could be constructed. His error, it was stated, appears to have sprung from a mere accident regarding the materials on which he experimented.]

It is impossible for me even to touch upon all the investigations and minor discoveries in which Newton was engaged in connexion with light and optical instruments. His construction

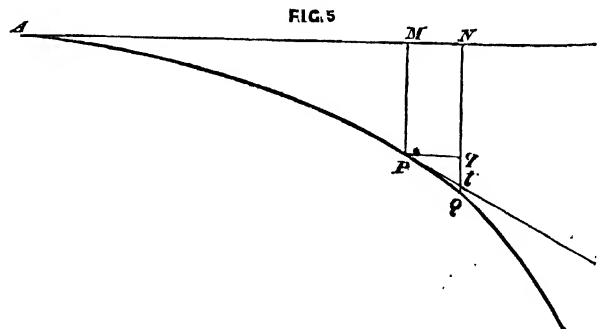
of the reflecting telescope, his theory of colours of thin and thick plates, his experiments on the eye and on binocular vision, the semi-decussation of the optic nerves, his sextant, his microscope—all these and other matters, of which he treated with the mind of a philosopher and with a penetration beyond his age, I must pass over, and come to the second branch of his discoveries and endeavour to give you some notion of its leading idea.

II. I almost despair of making this part of Newton's discoveries—in Mathematical Reasoning, the invention of the CALCULUS OF FLUXIONS AND FLUENTS—intelligible, even simply in its *leading idea*, to any but minds habituated to mathematical thought. But I will do my best, as my Lecture would be altogether incomplete without some notice of it.

This leading idea I will endeavour to explain by taking a simple example by way of illustration. Suppose I throw a stone into the air. The attraction of the earth will continually draw it from the line in which it is moving and cause it to describe a curve. The form of this curve must be *determinate*, and *determinable* too if we know the law of the force which bends the body out of the straight course in which it would proceed. And on the other hand, if I know the form of the curve, the law of the force causing the body to describe it ought to be determinable.

The Calculus of Fluxions was invented to solve problems in all parts of Physics—not in mechanics only—of which this is one very simple specimen.

[Here the fifth diagram was explained. AMN is a horizontal



line, in which direction the stone is supposed to be thrown, as the simplest case is taken for illustration. APQ is the curve which the stone describes; at any point of its course

P, it would proceed along the tangent line Pt if at that instant the force of gravity ceased to act in drawing it out of its course. But as gravity does not cease, it draws it through a space equal to tQ in the time which the stone would otherwise have described Pt . Hence in that time, under the combined action of gravity and the motion the stone had already acquired at P, the stone actually describes PQ. Hence Pq represents the original velocity of projection; qt represents the downward velocity which the stone has acquired by the time it reaches P in consequence of gravity; tQ represents the increase of this velocity, and therefore the magnitude of the force of gravity drawing the stone out of its course, while the stone moves through PQ.

It was explained that the form of a curve is represented in mathematics in the following manner. PM is drawn perpendicular to AMN , P being any point in the curve. If we make AM any number of feet or inches, the number of feet or inches in MP is known if the form of the curve is known; and by laying down a number of points M, N , &c. drawing the perpendiculars and measuring off the corresponding number of feet or inches in MP, NQ , &c. we can construct the curve on the paper. The relation between PM and AM , which enables us to know how many inches or feet PM must be when we make AM any length we please, is called the *equation to the curve*: AM is called the *abscissa*, MP the *ordinate* to the point P ; the abscissa and ordinate spoken of together are called the *co-ordinates to the point P*.

Now Newton conceived the existence or creation of a curve in this manner. He imagined a point to move along the curve geometrically, and thus trace out the curve by geometrical motion. This point having reached P , he called AP (the part already formed) the *fluent*, because it was, as it were, in the act of flowing on; and PQ , the minute portion by which it was at that time increasing, he called the *fluxion*, or the flux, by which the fluent was, as it were, made to flow. These were mere names, invented by him to assist the mind in conceiving the generation of curves in nature. Carrying on the analogy he called MN or Pq the fluxion of the abscissa AM , and qQ the fluxion of the ordinate MP .

Newton's invention, it was shown, consisted in this:—In his conception of the curve in this light; and in his devising a method (1) for calculating the value of the fluxion qQ of the ordinate (consisting of the two parts qt and tQ , as explained above) in terms of Pq , the fluxion of the abscissa, when the curve and its equation are known; and (2) for finding the curve and its equation, when the fluxions are known.

In the first case, knowing what the curve is, he could by his new method calculate the length of qQ , that is, find how much the force ought to do in acting upon the body, and therefore know what the law of the force is. In the other case, the inverse problem is solved: viz. if we know what the fluxion is, viz. qQ , by knowing the law of force he could reason back, by his new method, and know what the curve or *fluent* must be.]

This is Newton's famous Calculus of Fluxions and Fluents—the invention of which has put into the hands of the Physical Philosopher an entirely new engine of thought and calculation, without which it would have been utterly impossible for him to bring Physical Science in any branch to the pitch of perfection to which it has attained; and towards which Newton himself made in the composition of the *Principia* far more than the giant's stride. Other mathematical inventions apply, each to its individual subject, and cannot be brought to bear upon others. But *this* is a universal instrument, operating upon a variety of problems which could not be touched by any of the methods of the ancient geometers, and by the generality of its means bringing under one point of view theories and sciences which had been previously considered as insulated and independent. The rapturous language in which Halley, the astronomer, used to speak of Newton's discoveries, applies with singular propriety to this—perhaps the most sublime production of his genius.

The theorems to which mathematicians have been led by this Calculus—each in itself the result of a chain of reasoning—are so many *new starting-points of thought*, the truth of which the mathematical mind can frequently recognize at a glance, when once demonstrated, though each step in the process was necessary for its discovery. The mathematician is thus lifted up, as it were, from stage to stage in the region of thought, and acquires a power and a grasp of the subject he is considering, which by no other process he could possibly attain. This Calculus has been known by other names:—The Calculus of Infinitesimals, because it treats of the infinitely small increments of quantities: also the Differential and Integral Calculus, because the fluxions are the differentials of the varying quantity and the fluent is the integral quantity.

Sir Isaac Newton was not so fortunate in his invention of Fluxions, as he was in his theory of Light and Colours, as to meet with no rival competitor for the honour of the discovery. My own persuasion is, after going through all the evidence, that Newton was not only the *first* inventor, but the *sole* inventor of this wonderful method. I think that the evidence

shows that Leibnitz his rival derived his ideas upon the subject from Newton himself during his visit to England. There is a MS. which proves that as early as 1665, in his 23rd year, Newton had made his discovery. Four years later he communicated it to Dr. Barrow, and he to others. His MS. was copied and circulated among mathematicians in those earlier years. Four years after, viz. in 1673, Leibnitz came to England, and became acquainted with scientific men in London. Through his countryman Oldenburgh, who was Secretary of the Royal Society, he corresponded with Newton regarding his discoveries. Leibnitz, when he first put forth his own Calculus after his return to the continent, regarded Newton as the first inventor, and himself as the second but independent inventor. Later in life he claimed the sole invention. This change, and his tendency on other occasions to claim inventions which were not his, convince me, that Newton's own impression was the right one; that Leibnitz had derived his Calculus from the communications he had made to him through Oldenburgh.

The part which Newton subsequently took in the controversy strengthens this in my mind. For it was in his nature to be regardless of fame. He held back his discoveries, when others would have blazoned them before the world. But in this instance he singularly belied this character. He pushed his claim; and was the chief workman in the preparation of the *Commercium Epistolicum*, the document of the Royal Society to establish Newton's right to the invention. This, I doubt not, judging from his general life, arose, not so much, if at all, from ambition to be acknowledged the real inventor, as from a feeling of righteous indignation at the injustice of the claim advanced by Leibnitz.

III. I now come to the third class of his discoveries—that with which the name of Newton is more generally identified than with any other—the Physical System of the Universe, THE LAW OF UNIVERSAL GRAVITATION. In this he had had some who had prepared the way for him: and in this respect there was some difference between his discovery of Universal Gravitation and his discoveries in Light and Fluxions. Copernicus, who died exactly 100 years before Newton was born, had exploded the Ptolemaic system of the heavens, and had re-established the Pythagorean, in which the sun was made the centre of the system. Galileo, who died in the year that Newton was born, had discovered a law of terrestrial mechanics, viz. that the spaces described by bodies falling from rest vary as the squares of the times of describing them, and that in the first second of time they pass through 16 feet. Kepler, who died 12 years previously, had by prodigious perseverance

and untiring diligence, and with an enthusiasm which superstition seemed almost to generate, measured the planetary spaces, the form and period of the planets' orbits. The celestial machinery had thus been examined and explained ready for Newton's use. Guesses even had been made, that some mysterious tendency towards the Sun continually deflected the planets from straight courses, and made them circulate around him as a centre. Kepler at one time thought the force might vary as the inverse square of the distance, but rejected it. Others also conjectured; but proved nothing.

It required the mind of Newton to detect, demonstrate, and explain the unknown principle which pervades this physical mechanism, and to trace to its operation as a cause the complicated movements and unexplained anomalies which astronomers, from Hipparchus downwards, for 18 centuries, had diligently recorded as facts, but had not understood. In a period of the world, which from Copernicus down to his own times, was distinguished for great men of intellectual power, Newton by his genius rose as a King, a Giant King, among his peers; and has maintained an elevation, from which neither Time, the searcher of all claims, nor Facts, the unsparing umpire between truth and error, have ever dethroned him.

The Greeks with their fine intellects never attained to a correct conception of celestial mechanism. Facts they collected and classified. But they missed—as Dr. Whewell has shown—the “appropriate idea” for putting those facts together and rising from them to legitimate consequences.

Immediately before the time of Newton and during his earlier years Des Cartes' philosophic system was in vogue. He supposed space to be occupied by invisible matter which whirled in vortices like whirlpools in water, and so carried round the planets in their orbits and the earth and moon in theirs. It serves to illustrate the contrast between the darkness of the philosophic times preceding Newton and the light which his genius kindled, that a system so utterly devoid of argument to stand upon, of fact to support it, or of analogy to give it countenance, should have been held with more or less tenacity by men of science. So far were men from entertaining correct philosophical perceptions in natural things that the most absurd notions would sometimes be broached. Take for example the Tides. Even Kepler, in other respects a careful astronomer, believed, as the great Euler tells us, that the Earth was a living animal, and that by its heavings were produced the flux and reflux of the ocean! Des Cartes brought his speculations to bear on the subject, and considered that the tides arose from the pressure upon the sea of the moon's

imaginary vortex as the moon passed over. In the dark ages philosophical ignorance was often veiled under the assumption of arbitrary principles or "occult qualities" supposed to reside in things. High sounding terms and names were given to operations and phenomena; and men in their ignorance often persuaded themselves that they had solved the enigmas of nature when they attributed them to some hidden mysterious but hypothetical principle. This charge was brought against Newton's Theory of Gravitation by no less a man than Leibnitz. He accused him of reviving the notion of *occult qualities*, of which he said this unseen mysterious cause called "gravitation" seemed to be a specimen. How triumphantly this is answered will now appear by my explaining to you the *leading idea* in Newton's great discovery.

It is a matter of the most ordinary observation, that the Moon's apparent size varies so slightly—indeed to ordinary observers altogether imperceptibly—that as far as appearances go, she may be said to describe a circular orbit around the Earth. The natural tendency of bodies is to move on in straight lines, unless influenced by some external cause. What is it, then, which deflects the moon from her straight course and keeps her always as the companion of the earth? Is it not her gravitating tendency towards the earth! But this, the objector would say, is a resort to an *occult quality*. Here, then, comes in the story of the falling apple. Whether that particular story be true or not, it matters little; for in either case, it exactly represents the process of thought which must have passed through Newton's mind. He saw the apple fall, as it was disengaged from its stalk. He had seen many apples fall. But on *this* occasion he seized the appropriate idea, and we may conceive him reasoning thus. "What causes the apple to fall? No visible connexion between it and the earth. It must be some gravitating tendency in the apple towards the earth. But is not this an occult principle? Can it be admitted? It cannot be *denied* that the body when let go *falls*: it is heavy towards the earth, or literally it gravitates towards the earth, whatever the hidden process may be. This is a *fact*, be the cause an occult principle or not. And wherever the experiment is made, be it in valley or on mountain top, it is the same. Birds shot high up in the air fall to the earth. A stone thrown up to any height and so disengaged from all visible connexion with the earth, nevertheless comes back. There *is* some mysterious connexion between the earth and all *terrestrial* objects, which no one can deny, though no one can explain or has as yet guessed at the cause. Why, then, not pass up from this known fact and property of matter, and suppose that the

Moon, if deprived of her motion, would *fall towards the Earth?*”

Here was the appropriate idea. The very conception of the Moon's motion being made up of two parts combined, the one the transverse motion along the tangent, and the other the gradual *falling* from the tangent towards the earth like any other falling body, marked the *mind* of the Philosopher! He began not with a guess as to an occult quality in the heavenly bodies; but he passed up from the known on the earth to the unknown in the *heavens* by a natural and easy transition. This is the excellency of Newton's mode of proceeding. Here is no conjecture indulged in about imaginary vortices, but a simple but efficient step from terrestrial to celestial mechanism.

The sixth diagram will explain more clearly the connexion which he perceived between the fall of bodies on the earth, and the retention of the Moon in her orbit about the earth.

[Here a large diagram was described of which the following is a representation.

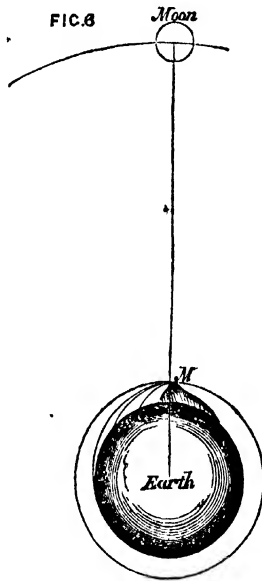


Fig. 6. It is evident that if a stone be projected horizontally from an elevation, like the top of a mountain M it will strike the surface of the earth at a more distant point the greater its force of projection. Thus could force sufficient be

exerted, and the resistance of the air surrounding the earth be dispensed with, a stone might be made to strike successively at *A*, *B*, *C*, and at last to start with so great an initial velocity as to carry it all round back to *M*, its velocity being such that the effect of gravity would only deflect the stone continually from the tangent sufficiently to keep it moving in a circle.

Why, then, cannot the Moon be supposed to be a falling body though at so great a height, and to be moving with just that velocity which at her distance will prevent gravity doing more than just deflecting her sufficiently from the tangent to retain her in her circular orbit ?]

But Newton would not satisfy himself with this conjecture, plausible as it is, till he had reduced it to the test of calculation and measurement.

Galileo had shown that under the influence of gravity bodies fall through 16 feet in the first second of time, and in a greater or less time the space varies as the squares of the times. The moon's distance is 60 radii of the earth, and therefore gravitation up at the height of the moon will be 60-square times *feebler* than at the earth's surface: also 1' is 60 times 1", and therefore the space described in 1' will be, according to Galileo's law, 60-square times greater than in 1". Hence as at the earth's surface a body falls through 16 feet in one *second*, at the height of the moon a body in falling to the earth would describe 16 feet in one *minute*. This according to the same law, is about 11 miles in an hour. Now the Moon goes round the earth in $27\frac{1}{2}$ days, and her distance is 240,000 miles. From this you can easily find how many miles she describes in an hour; and, therefore, how long her versed-sine or sagitta is in the same time. You will find it, if you will make the calculation, to be precisely 11 miles—the very space a body falling to the earth would describe in the same time. Thus the connexion between terrestrial and celestial mechanics is established beyond a question. This was the first link of that chain of reasoning which has explained and demonstrated the whole system of the heavens.

The next great step, the solution of the fundamental problem, I will now describe.

On a closer examination of the changes in the Moon's apparent diameter and, therefore, in her distance from the earth, it is found that she does not describe a circle, but an ellipse around the earth in one of its foci—just as Kepler discovered that the planetary orbits around the Sun are elliptical. This, then, was the problem which was next to be solved, and on the success of which the theory of Universal Gravitation hung:—If a body is projected into a space and deflected by a force

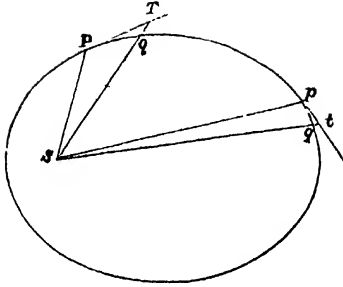
varying as the square of the distance inversely, will it describe an ellipse, with the force in the focus ?

While Newton, at Cambridge, had verified the law of the inverse square in the manner I have explained, others in London—as Hooke, Wren, and Halley—were attempting the same thing; they tried also to find the curve which would be described under that law. They altogether failed, and Halley hastened to Cambridge to consult the great oracle; when to his surprize and joy he found that Newton had not only established the truth of the inverse square in the case of the Moon's mean distance (in the manner I have shown), but had already demonstrated, that the ellipse would be the curve described if the velocity of projection was not exactly suited to the circle, thus establishing the law of the inverse square, as giving results in accordance with observation.* But such was Newton's freedom from vain glory or ambition, that he had not sent his discovery abroad, but had thrown his paper aside, and could not now find it for his delighted and admiring friend. After Halley left Cambridge, Newton endeavoured to reproduce the demonstration; but through inadvertence drawing a line in the diagram wrongly, did not at first succeed. His error he speedily corrected; and the great truth upon which the system of the whole universe depends, and which he alone was found capable of demonstrating, was given to the scientific world. From this epoch, in 1684, I date the DISCOVERY OF UNIVERSAL GRAVITATION.

My seventh diagram will help me to explain something of the nature of this important problem.

[It was here explained that an ellipse is not a mere oval; but a curve of certain exact properties; and that what Newton had to demonstrate was that a body projected from a point P , in the direction PT , would describe an exact ellipse around S as one of its foci, if the body was acted upon by a force emanating from S and varying in its amount as the inverse square of the distance from S . Suppose the body describes PQ in a given short time; and when it gets to p it describes pq in the same short time. Then Newton had to prove that TQ and tq were the exact measures of the amount of force exerted from S on the body when it was at P and p respectively, to draw the body in from the tangents PT and pt *exactly* to the points Q and q , and neither short of them nor beyond them, so as always to keep the body just in the line of the ellipse.]

* The most general form of Newton's discovery is this, That if a body is projected into space under the influence of a force varying inversely as the square of the distance from some fixed point, it will describe an ellipse if the velocity is less than a certain quantity; if it is equal to or greater than that quantity it will describe a parabola or hyperbola, the fixed point being in each case a focus of the curve.



From this discovery Physical Astronomy has taken its rise. Others had guessed that some power of attraction must exist between the sun and the planets, and the earth and the moon. But none had even approached to a demonstration. The glory of this belongs altogether to Newton. And to him is due also the undivided merit of conceiving as well as demonstrating this Law of Gravitation in its *integrity*, viz., that the attraction does not exist between the bodies merely in their general mass, but that *every single particle* is attracted by every other particle throughout the whole regions of space, with a force varying according to this law—a part of the general principle upon which some of the most profound and successful investigations in Physical Science altogether rest, such as the Figure of the Earth, the Tides, some of the Lunar perturbations, and the Precession of the Equinoxes.

Physical Science indeed did not exist before the discovery of this Law, and of the powerful analysis brought in by the theory of Fluxions. All Astronomy and every investigation in Physics is *vapid* before this grand step was taken. Astronomy was but a science of observation and measurement, and nothing else—no reasoning upon physical principles, for there were none laid down or discovered.

The solution of this fundamental proposition, gave a new impulse to Newton's mind. The two next years are celebrated for the composition of his Immortal Work—which was given to the world through the zeal and perseverance, the diligence and liberality of Halley, to whom we owe the possession of this extraordinary production which, but for him, would never have been published or even written. To have been the author of such a work has shed a glory around Newton's name which can never grow dim. That great mathematician Lagrange, who frequently asserted that Newton was the greatest genius that ever existed, used to add—"and the *most fortunate*, for

we cannot find more than *once* a system of the world to establish." Some there were who still pertinaciously held to the vagaries of the Cartesian Vortices—either steeped in prejudice, or utterly unable to follow out the arguments and demonstrations of the new philosophy. The absurdity of this was well set forth by Whiston, who declared that to use the Cartesian fictitious hypothesis after the discovery of Newton's system was continuing to eat *old acorns* for food, after the discovery of *new wheat*. Laplace's encomium is of especial value from the eminence he himself attained. "The importance and generality of the discoveries, and the immense number of original and profound views which have been the germ of the most brilliant theories of the philosophers of this century, and all presented with much elegance, will ensure to the work a pre-eminence above all other productions of human genius." So intense was the interest which the publication of the *Principia* excited among men of letters, that learned men who were not mathematicians longed to understand its contents. Locke, Bentley, and Watts were of this number. Passing by the process of demonstration, which they had not science enough to follow, they pondered over the results of each proposition with amazement and delight.

All the great results which another century and a half have added to Physical Astronomy—in the lunar and planetary theories by Laplace, Lagrange and others, the stability of the system, the perturbations of Jupiter and Saturn, the Figure of the Earth as heterogeneous, the orbits of double stars, the discovery of an unknown planet, detected solely by its disturbing influence—all add glory to the name of Newton, as they are all deductions from his one universal law; and the profound analysis by which these results have been attained, is the expansion of the calculus of which he was the inventor.

So vast is this subject, that though I have as it were but skimmed its surface, I have left myself but little time to sum up the CHARACTER of the Great Philosopher.

1. In the first place, there must have existed in Newton, in an eminent degree, the elements which compose the *mathematical talent*—which has been described as including distinctness of intuition, tenacity and facility in tracing logical connexion, fertility of invention, and a strong tendency to generalization. Newton's INVENTIVE POWER appeared in his earliest years, and is very remarkably manifest in the endless contrivances and mathematical artifices for surmounting difficulties of which his writings are full. "If we conceive the operation of the inventive faculty," says Dr. Whewell "in the

only way in which it appears possible to conceive it,—that while some hidden source supplies a rapid stream of possible suggestions, the mind is on the watch to seize and to detain any one of these which will suit the case in hand, allowing the rest to pass by and be forgotten—we shall see what extraordinary fertility of mind is implied by so many *successful* efforts [as Newton achieved], what an innumerable host of thoughts must have been produced to supply so many that deserved to be selected.”

2. This gift of invention, which so strongly marked the character of Newton's mind, did not run off into fancy or the empty speculations of his own imagination; for it was intimately associated in him with another important quality—
THE LOVE OF TRUTH AND REALITY.

Inferior minds to his are pleased with their own conceptions, and are disappointed if their own speculations will not stand. But he regarded the world—spiritual and physical—as a great Reality—as created by the God of all power and wisdom, and endowed with those principles which lead to phenomena which it is our business to study. He came then as a *learner*. He gave an attentive ear and an observant eye to the developments of this world, that he might catch the indications which its phenomena are continually throwing out. The very name of *hypothesis* he is said to have abhorred. If a theory, which his fertile invention had instinctively suggested, would not stand the test of some experiment or calculation, he would instantly reject it. He did not, as some of us may be conscious of doing at times, endeavour to square or coax facts to suit his theory. It was not his own fame, a great name that he coveted—but Truth. Regarding the world (as I have said) as the work of the Supreme Being, full of wonders in beautiful harmony, he *abandoned* himself to the guidance of facts.

There is a charm in facts, and in tracing their connexion, which none can comprehend but he who has enjoyed it. The pathway of facts is the road to greatness—it is the road to truth: and every by-path to the right or left which man's empty and inflated imagination may strike out, is only the road to darkness and disgrace, and will lead him into endless labyrinths in which he will find nothing to feed upon but his own vanity. Facts are the indestructible atoms which enter into the composition of truth, and without them truth cannot be known.

There are two examples which I will produce of the integrity of Newton's mind—I do not mean of his heart—but of his mind, in which this appreciation of the value of truth was remarkably shown.

When his first thoughts on Universal Gravitation, suggested by the falling apple, gave him the true conception of the identity of the principle which binds the planets to the sun and gives weight to bodies on the earth, he tested his theory by calculation; and using the only information then possessed of the size of the earth (which was defective) the result did not satisfy him. The grandeur of the consequences, had the thought been true, of which he must have had at least a glimpse, did not beguile him into attempting to square matters and persuade himself that his own conception was the right one. He did not give it out even as an approximation to the truth. He did not suggest that the facts on which his calculation was based were probably defectively ascertained—which was in reality the case—a thing which most of us would have done when such a prize was before us. He threw his calculation aside: and it was not till eighteen years afterwards that he resumed it, on receiving new information regarding the earth's diameter—and his first speculation was demonstrated to be the law of nature.

The other instance is taken from his theological studies—and I can state it in few words. There were two passages in the Christian Scriptures which he thought had crept into the text from the margin, where he conceived they had been written by some commentator, and that they did not belong to the original. This was by no means certain: but he undertook a thorough scrutiny. The truths which these passages teach are fundamental; and are to be found in other parts of the book. But such was his integrity, that in spite of the danger of his being charged with a disbelief of the truths themselves—which would have been fatal to his Christian character—he decided upon their want of authenticity and struck them out.

There are sufficient incidental testimonies in his writings, that he did hold the doctrines concerned; but the whole circumstance strikingly illustrates the integrity of his mind, and his abhorrence of entertaining anything as *authentic*—even though involving no error and indeed teaching truth—which will not stand the test of evidence:—and it adds (I may say) immensely to the weight of evidence in favour of what passed *unaltered* under his severe and scrutinizing inspection.

3. His HUMILITY is a third feature in his character which I must notice. His humble view of his own gigantic powers is most instructive. When asked how he made his discoveries, he answered, "By always thinking about them." He prided himself on no force of genius, which undoubtedly he possessed in the highest degree. He declared that if he had done any-

thing it was due to nothing but industry and patient thought. "I keep the subject of my enquiry constantly before me, and wait till the first dawning opens gradually, by little and little, into a full and clear light."

This habit to which Newton attributed, and, in some sense, owed his discoveries—this constant attention to the rising thought—necessarily so engaged and absorbed his spirit, as often to make him inattentive and almost insensible to external impressions and common impulses. The stories which are told of his extreme absence of mind, probably refer to the two years during which he was composing his *Principia*, and was thus following out a train of reasoning the most fertile, the most complex, and the most important which any philosopher had ever had to deal with.

4. In the next place—his NATURAL DISPOSITION appears to have been MILD AND EQUABLE, but somewhat UNIMPASSIONED.

His patience was sorely tried by the pertinacity and ignorance with which his discoveries in light were criticized. But he met his opponents with calmness. In his difference with Flamsteed, it cannot be said that he is clear of blame. But we must measure his conduct by the intense pressure on his mind under the development of his Lunar Theory, and by the temper and disposition of the man who did not respond to his requirements in the way he should have done.

During the year of his illness he wrote some impatient words to Locke and others. But when ruffled he speedily recovered himself. Though he proved by his infirmities that he was only human, his subsequent confessions and generous admissions convince us that he was a man under higher influences and who disciplined himself to attain the mastery over his natural failings.

He behaved with manly generosity to Bernoulli, who—it is to be feared—denied against good evidence the part he had taken against Newton while Leibnitz was alive. Newton never would swerve from the acceptance of Bernoulli's own declaration, that he was not the author of a certain obnoxious letter which had been published to the world against him. "I at once resolved," says the aged philosopher "not only to forget the mathematical disputes which had lately taken place, but to cultivate your friendship, and to estimate highly your great mathematical merits."

The native simplicity of his mind is finely portrayed in an affecting letter to Locke, in which he acknowledges that on a certain occasion he had thought and spoken uncharitably of him: and the humility and candour in which he asks for-

givenness could have emanated only from a mind as noble as it was pure.

5. It is not to be wondered at that he possessed these ornaments in his character, when we learn, in the next place, that he was, with all his prodigious powers, a man of RELIGIOUS FEELINGS.

His celebrated Scholium, at the end his Principia, shows this—in which he leads our thoughts up from the world he had been describing to the Supreme Being, declaring Him to be the Governor of all things, not as the soul of the world, but as Lord over all.

There are many indications of the piety of his character. His advice to his friend Facio and his prayers for him, and the value Facio put upon them, and his similar conduct to the dying Dr. Morland show this. It is said that Halley would at times speak of religion in a light manner; and that Newton used to check him:—"You know, I have studied these things—you have not."

I have already said, that from his twenty-second year downwards notes and annotations have been discovered which show that he investigated religious questions from his youth to the end of his life. His published works and the long list of unpublished papers on these matters show, how deeply he was interested in and how thoroughly he had investigated these matters. His friend John Craig has especially told us that his theological writings were composed while his understanding was in its greatest perfection, and that it cannot be said that his applying himself to the study of religion was the effect of dotage.

To some minds it has unhappily appeared irreconcilable, that such prodigious powers as Newton possessed should have been employed in the investigation of Christian truth. Unlike the philosopher, whose philosophic character they cannot but admire, rather than meet and harmonize facts, they would sweep facts away which oppose their preconceived theory. Voltaire, in his light and contemptuous spirit, solves the riddle thus: That Newton condescended to these, as he thought, puerile occupations "to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them" in other things.

Others have more seriously—but as unsuccessfully—endeavoured to pour contempt upon this part of the great Philosopher's performance by making two assertions which are both necessary to their argument, and are *both untrue* (as I have already shown), that his illness in his 50th year permanently weakened his understanding, and that it was not till after this illness that he devoted himself to theological studies.

In undertaking to delineate the character of this great man, I should have been unfaithful to historical accuracy, had I not thus declared, that when in full possession of his mental powers and after the most patient investigation, he was a firm believer in the Divine revelation contained in the Christian Scriptures.

6. The last point I would notice in commending his character and pursuits to your study and admiration, is one which was spoken of in the first lecture of this Course.

What a prodigious lift was given to human knowledge by this one man! That it is to INDIVIDUAL EFFORT that all progress is due, is remarkably illustrated by the character before us. We talk of the improvement and advance of the Hindoo mind—as if the Hindoos were some indefinite being, not made up of units, each unit with a mind of its own. You thus get lost in generalities and see nothing practically. Dreams and delusions occupy the place which the *great realities* of God's spiritual moral and physical creation ought to fill. Unless you give yourselves individually to the searching out of facts—facts physical moral and spiritual—and abandon yourselves, as Newton did, to their guidance, you will know nothing of the charm of truth or of the advantages and blessings to which it leads.

PART III.

REPORTS OF SECTIONS.

REPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SECTION,

BY

HENRY WOODROW, M. A.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Section of our Society which I have the honor to represent this evening, is that on general education. I speak my own feelings and, I doubt not, the feelings of the present meeting, when I express my regret that our honored President has not taken into his own hands the management of this department. From the fulness of his stores of information, from his intimate knowledge of the events which we, the members of this Section, know chiefly by reading, and from his exertions in forming that history which we laboriously dig out from reports rescued temporarily from devouring white ants, our President is able to tell as an eye-witness what we describe on hearsay, and to speak as one with authority when we can only quote, scribe-like, the sayings of others. Our President, however, has seen fit to commit this Section to my charge, and I am here this evening to state what we have done, or rather what we have not done, for the performance has not realized my expectation.

The Section held four meetings, two in December 1859, when the members chose their subjects; and the two others in February and June. When reports of progress were rendered at our first meetings, it seemed to the Section desirable to distribute the subjects in such a way that all the members should have an opportunity of subscribing something to the common stock of information. As each member probably would know best the history of the Institution in which he

was himself educated, and as a set of histories of the several educational institutions of Bengal would be a valuable contribution to the records of the Bethune Society, and would lay a broad foundation and gather a large collection of materials for the work of succeeding laborers, the proposal was readily accepted.

The following papers were promised by gentlemen well qualified by their position to give the Society trustworthy information ;

- 1.—The History of the Hindn College.
- 2.—The History of the Hooghly College.
- 3.—The History of the Hooghly Madrisa.
- 4.—An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Sanscrit College.
- 5.—The History of the General Assembly's Institution.
- 6.—The History of the Free Church Institution.
- 7.—The History of the Oriental Seminary.
- 8.—The History of the Metropolitan College.
- 9.—The History of the Doveton College.
- 10.—The History of the Jonye Training School and similar Institutions in Bengal.
- 11.—The History of the Burisaul School.
- 12.—The Labours of the Calcutta School Society.
- 13.—A review of the different systems of education in England.
- 14.—Selections from the Records of the General Committee of Public Instruction.
- 15.—The labours of the Bengal Zemindars in the extension of education.

It was found by the writer "on the labours of Bengal Zemindars in the extension of education" that he had unfortunately but little to say on his subject: he therefore substituted for it the question of Indigenous Education. The circumstance was deeply to be regretted on many accounts, for himself, for the Zemindars, for this meeting, but most of all for Bengal itself. Yet the fact cannot be denied that the great landholders of Bengal are not conspicuous for their labours in the cause of education. Honorable exception, however, must be made of the names of Ram Rutton Roy, Joykissen Mookerjee, and of the Ranee Kattaine. The smaller Zemindars are generally more liberal than the greater Zemindars in the cause of education.

The Essayist on the Jonye Institution substituted for his subject the more general head of the Glasgow Training system, with special reference to the efforts made to introduce it into this country.

To these fifteen essays, I looked forward as the mental feast which was on this evening to be served up for our refreshment and invigoration.

The 30th September was the day appointed for the delivery of these promised treasures to my honorable friend, the Secretary of the Section, but not one of the fifteen was forthcoming. The situation gradually became painful. The work of the Section was to be exhibited, and we had no work to exhibit. To my friend Baboo Gopal Chunder Banerjee of the Calcutta Normal School I render my sincere thanks for being the first to come to our relief. The thanks of the Society are due to him for a valuable paper on the different educational systems in England. This paper will be useful to us and to himself too in his work; like mercy "it blesseth both him that gives and him that takes." To Baboo Hara Sunker Doss, our acknowledgments must be paid for an interesting paper on the Calcutta Free Church Institution. To Baboo Koylas Chunder Bose our thanks are due for a brief account of the Oriental Seminary. I am sorry that our worthy friend does not wish his sketch to be printed.

I have also contributed my quota in presenting to the Society the unpublished Educational Minutes of Lord Macaulay. Thus four only out of the fifteen promised papers are forthcoming. Where are the other eleven? A few of the gentlemen who promised help have sent letters of excuse for the absence of their contributions. The opportunity for writing has in one case been taken away by sickness; in another by the calls of official duty; and in a third by the claims of family ties; but in the case of a few who give no excuse, it has, I fear, been frittered away by sloth. This, as Seneca says, "is the worst waste of time." Our Sections were established solely to enlist the co-operation of men, who having completed their collegiate course and started in life were willing to improve the talents committed to their care and to devote part of their leisure time to the mental elevation of themselves and of their countrymen. These views have not at present been realized.

There is no country on earth so full of promise as Bengal, and none in which that promise is so often disappointed. If every passed college student were to treasure up his wasted moments, we could easily receive from them 300 essays instead of three. I would say yet again that Bengal is a land of promise, and of unfulfilled promise. Of promise, for what can be more full of promise than the young classes of our numerous schools? In no country of the world are young children more pleasing in appearance, more graceful in demeanour, more intelligent in countenance, and more eager for knowledge.

Whilst I gaze on the beautiful bright groups which almost daily gather around me in the Mofussil, I am reminded of the exclamation of St. Augustine as he watched at Rome similar groups of English children, "Non Anglici sed Angeli si forent Christiani." The children of Bengal are a multitudinous host of hope unsurpassed on the face of the earth.

And what must be the capabilities of their mothers to whose tender and unremitting care is due this glorious dawn of a nation's intelligence? They have nobly begun their work; would that they were permitted to carry it on to perfection. Neither England nor America can make a better start, but mothers there carry on the work of education, and fathers and brothers watch with grateful admiration the unrivalled tact with which the mother conducts the early instruction of her child. In Bengal mothers are denied that boon. By a monstrous, unnatural custom, unknown to earlier, purer days of Hinduism, women are kept in mental darkness, and not having the light are unable to appreciate it or to give it to their children. A mother's love is such that she is delighted to lavish her most costly treasures for the good of her child. What a future would be for this land, if every Bengali mother thought knowledge to be her most costly treasure! with what energy would she amass these treasures, and with what devotion would she impart them to her child! Hired teachers may possess industry and skill, but how can mercenaries contend with the enduring enthusiasm of a mother's love. Macaulay, in one of the unpublished minutes now before you says, with reference to Infant Schools,

"I cannot bring myself to think, that where it is in the mother's power to devote herself to the care of her family, young children can be placed any where so fitly as under the mother's care. The relation of parent and child is the foundation of all society. It is fit that where the parent is unable fully to perform the parental duties, the charity of individuals, and perhaps in some circumstances the wisdom of the Government should supply what is wanting. But to break without necessity the closest of all ties, to substitute the schoolmaster for the mother as the guardian of an infant hardly able to lisp, and that too when the mother has the leisure and the means to perform what all over the world is considered as her sacred and peculiar duty, is not in my opinion a wise course."

In another minute on the same subject, Macaulay says,

"As to the corrupting influence of the Zenana of which Mr. Trevelyan speaks, I may regret it. But I own that I cannot help thinking that the dissolution of the tie between parent and child is as great a moral evil as can be found in any

Zenana. In whatever degree then, Infant Schools relax that tie, they do mischief. In whatever degree they leave the child to the care of its family, the corrupting influence of the Zenana continues. There is a great deal of moral corruption which we pass by as quite harmless because it does not shock our sense of decorum. For my own part I would rather hear a boy of three years old lisp all the bad words in the language than that he should have no feeling of family affection, that his character should be that which must be expected in one who has had the misfortune of having a schoolmaster in the place of a mother."

Yet from the vast field of childhood's promise how small in Bengal is the harvest of youth! In the race of intelligence, many millions start from the goal of childhood; a few thousands only hold on to the other goal of youth. The incarceration of the mother's intellect is the main cause of this first, and this most widely extended blight of early promise. The opponents of female education are the evil spirits whose malignant influence perpetuates in an ever-recurring succession this blight of a nation's hope.

Yet much of promise does enter the portals of youth. Many hundreds of ardent aspiring students are now about to proceed to the Entrance Examination of the University. How very few of the hundreds now filled with high hopes will pass the successive steps of the University Examinations which lead to a degree of honor? Ill health or chill penury will repress their noble rage. On these ills of world-wide application, Bengal heaps mountains of social and physical disadvantages, such as caste, early marriage, family quarrels, a relaxing climate, and food rich, perhaps, but not nutritious. Some students rise superior to all these difficulties, but fall into the odious vices of profligacy and intemperance. This is the most mournful of all the blights of youthful hope. Of those who enter life with brilliant prospects and fine opportunities, almost all on attaining a pecuniary competency lay aside exertion, and fall into a torpor, and so, Merlin-like, "are lost to life, and use, and name, and fame!"

But to return to the papers which are presented to the Society as the proceedings of the Section on Education, I shall this evening read extracts from the essays of my three Hindu friends and fellow-labourers, whose forgiveness I ask if I devote more than a quarter of the time allowed for my address to the writings of that great master of the English language, whose unpublished notes and jottings on educational subjects I have the privilege now to place before the public.

MACAULAY'S EDUCATIONAL MINUTES.

The Indian career of Lord Macaulay extends from 1834 to 1837. During these three years he was the means of reforming the education of India, and as we now see, of simplifying the Law of India also. Few men have been by themselves so instrumental in impressing their stamp on the history of a nation's progress. By his educational reforms the whole system of instruction was directed into the channels which more or less it still retains. By his Penal Code he will direct men. He has more than any other man influenced the School life of the thousands who now crowd our English Schools. They probably know it not, but it is right that they should know and honor the man to whose vigorous exertion they owe their present advantages. His other great work that of reforming the Law was for a quarter of a century under consideration from time to time and one important section that of the Penal Code has, within the last three months, become the law of the land. Seldom does it fall to the lot of one man to be at once the chief Educator and the chief Lawgiver of a vast nation. Such an extraordinary character deserves more than ordinary consideration from Hindus.

Macaulay was born in 1800, and therefore we may tell his age by the years of the century. He was 34 years old when he came to India. His father Zachary Macaulay was for some time the Governor of Sierra Leone, and afterwards the friend and fellow labourer of Wilberforce and Clarkson in effecting the abolition of slavery. Macaulay was educated at home, and when he describes the advantages derived from female instruction, he speaks from personal experience. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of eighteen, and after carrying off the highest classical prizes took his degree in 1822. He subsequently won a fellowship at Trinity. The ability he displayed at the Union Debating Society at Cambridge attracted the attention of all his contemporaries and brought him to the notice of public men. Lord Brougham in particular was greatly interested in the progress of this rising genius, and wrote to his father Zachary a letter which had much influence on the young Macaulay's future career. As the letter is an educational document of the highest order and relates to Macaulay, I may with double propriety, read it to you this evening.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—My principal object in writing to you to-day is to offer you some suggestions in consequence of a conversation I have just had with Lord Grey, who has spoken of your son at Cambridge in terms of the greatest praise. He takes his account from his son, but from all I know and have learnt in other quarters, I doubt not that his judgment is well formed.

Now you of course destine him for the bar; and assuming that this and the public objects incidental to it, are in his views, I would fain impress upon you (and through you upon him) a truth or two which experience has made me aware of, and which I would have given a great deal to have been acquainted with earlier in life from the experience of others. *First*, that the foundation of all excellence is to be laid in *early application to general knowledge* is clear; that he is already aware of; and equally so it is (of which he may not be so well aware) that professional eminence can only be attained by entering betimes into the lowest drudgery, the most repulsive labours of his profession—even a year in an Attorney's office, as the law is now practised, I should not hold too severe a task, or too high a price to pay, for the benefit it must surely lead to—but at all events, the life of a special pleader, I am quite convinced, is *the thing* before being called to the bar. * * * * *

"But what I wish to inculcate especially with a view to the great talent for public speaking which your son happily possesses is, that he should cultivate that talent in the only way in which it can reach the height of the art, and I wish to turn his attention to two points. * * * * * The first point is this,—the beginning of the art is to acquire a habit of *easy speaking*, and in whatever way this can be had (which individual inclination or accident will generally direct, and may safely be allowed to do) it must be had. Now I differ from all other doctors of rhetoric in this—I say, let him first of all learn to speak easily and fluently, as well and as sensibly as he can, no doubt, but at any rate let him learn to speak. This is to eloquence or good public speaking what the being able to talk in a child is to correct grammatical speaking. It is the requisite foundation, and on it you must build. Moreover it can only be acquired young. Therefore let it by all means and at any sacrifice be gotten hold of forthwith. * * * * *

"The next step is the grand one—viz. to convert this style of easy speaking into chaste eloquence: and here there is but one rule. I do earnestly entreat your son to set daily and nightly before him, the *Greek Models*,—first of all he may look to the best modern speeches, as he probably has done already; Burke's best compositions as the 'Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents,' 'Speech on the American Conciliation;' and on 'The Nabab of Arcot's debt;' Fox's 'Speech on the Westminster scrutiny' (the first part of which he should pore over till he has it by heart). 'On the Russian Armament;' and 'On the war 1803;' with one or two of Wyndham's best, and very few or rather none of Sheridan's; but he must by no means stop here. If he would be a great orator he must go at once to the fountain head and be familiar with every one of the great orations of Demosthenes. * * * * * His taste will improve every time he reads and repeats to himself (for he should have the fine passages by heart) and he will learn how much may be done by a skilful use of a few words and a rigorous rejection of all superfluities. In this view I hold a familiar knowledge of Dante to be next to Demosthenes. It is in vain to say that imitations of these models won't do for our times. First, I do not counsel any imitation, but only an imbibing of the same spirit. Secondly, I know from experience that nothing is so successful in these times (bad though they be) as what has been framed on the Greek Models. I use a very poor instance in giving my own experience, but I do assure you that both in Courts of Law and Parliament, and even to mobs I have never made so much play (to use a very modern phrase) as when I was almost translating from the Greek. I composed the peroration of my speech for the Queen in the Lords, after reading and repeating Demosthenes for three or four weeks, and I composed it twenty times over at least, and it certainly succeeded in a very extraordinary degree, and far above any merits of its own.

"This leads me to remark that, though speaking without writing beforehand is very well until the habit of easy speech is acquired, yet after that he can never write too much. This is quite clear. It is laborious no doubt; and it is more difficult beyond comparison than speaking off hand; but it is necessary to perfect oratory, and at any rate it is necessary to acquire the habit of correct diction. But I go further and say, even to the end of a man's life he must prepare *word for word*—most of his finer passages. Now would he be a great orator or no? In other words would he have almost absolute power of doing good to mankind in a free country or no? So he wills this, he must follow these rules.

"Believe me, truly yours,

"HENRY BROUGHAM."

Macaulay's first speech on record was made in 1824, at an Anti-Slavery Meeting. It was a noble composition, but of course gave offence to the West India Planters. In 1825, Macaulay contributed to the Edinburgh Review his famous Essay on Milton. It was the first of that brilliant series with which during twenty years he enriched that Review. Soon afterwards in his essay on history he drew a comparison between the Romans in the time of Diocletian and the Chinese. If Hindus were substituted for Chinese the parallel would still be true, Macaulay says, "It would be easy to indicate many points of resemblance between the subjects of Diocletian and the people of the celestial empire where, during many centuries, nothing has been learned or unlearned; where Government, where education, where the whole system of life is a ceremony; where knowledge forgets to increase and multiply, and like the talent buried in the earth, or the pound wrapped up in the napkin, experiences neither waste nor augmentation. The torpor was broken by two great revolutions, the one moral, the other political: one from within, the other from without."

This state of national torpor was the abhorrence of the Essayist, and when the Essayist rose to be member of the Supreme Council of India, and President of the Committee of Public Instruction, that abhorrence became a principle of action and waged uncompromising war with the time-consecrated abuses of toles and Madrussas. Nothing but deeply-seated convictions, unflinching resolution, and vigorous exercise of amazing powers of language and argument could vanquish the serried line of veterans ranked in defence of error.

Macaulay's Minute of the 2nd February, 1835, was the final and decisive blow that settled the contest. On the 7th of the next month Lord Bentinck passed the famous resolution which turned the course of the stream of public education. Sidney Smith wrote to a friend in 1838, "Get and read Macaulay's papers upon Indian Courts and Indian Education. They are admirable for their talent and their honesty, we see why he was hated in India, and how honorable to him that hatred was."

The first attempt for the enlightenment of the natives of India in the science and literature of Europe was the establishment in 1816 of the Hindu College. This celebrated institution owes its origin to the exertions of Sir Edward Hyde East, David Hare, and Raja Rammohun Roy. When the native community of Calcutta were roused to consider the plan for the establishment of a *Maha Bidyālaya* (i. e. great seat of learning) as the Hindu College was originally termed, it was found that many of the orthodox Hindus held aloof from the plan, and refused to cooperate in any movement with Raja Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy accordingly, with a magnanimity worthy of his noble character, retired from the management of the proposed institution. Self-denial such as this is almost unknown in Calcutta, for he was the earliest advocate of the establishment of the College, and was eminently fitted by the gifts of nature, by his high position, wise discretion, deep learning, and earnest patriotism, to develope and carry out his own project. He was willing nevertheless to be laid aside, if by suffering rather than by acting he could benefit his country.

The Hindu College was for many years under native management. In 1823, the funds were so low that application was made to Government for aid, which was liberally conceded. The capital of the College moreover was reduced to Rupees 21,000, by the failure in 1827 of Baretto's house in which it was deposited. The income accordingly fell to less than Rs. 100 a month. Government supplemented the rest with ever increasing liberality, but till 1841, when its contribution was Rs. 30,000 a year, took but little share in the management. The Hindu College therefore is seldom mentioned in the controversies which raged in the Committee of Public Instruction concerning the management of Government schools.

This Committee was established in 1823 by the Governor-General in Council, and in the instructions addressed to its members, the object of their appointment is stated to be the "considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge, including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character."

The institutions placed under its charge were the Arabic College at Calcutta, and the Sanscrit College at Benares. The Calcutta College was established in 1781 by Warren Hastings, who at his own expense supplied a school house. Government gave lands yielding about Rs. 30,000 a year, and designed the

college for instruction in the principles and practice of Mahomedan law. The Benares College was projected by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at that city, in 1791, with a view to "endeavour our Government to the native Hindus, by our exceeding in our attention to them and their systems the care ever shewn by their own native princes." Lord Cornwallis in 1791 assigned for the support of the College, Rupees 14,000 a year, afterwards increased to Rupees 20,000.

On their foundation the Colleges at Calcutta and Benares were placed under native management, and abuses of the grossest kind soon became universal. Mr. Lushington says in his work on the Charities of Calcutta that "The Madrassa was almost useless for the purposes of education;" and that "its ample resources were dissipated among the superior and subordinate drones of the establishment." In 1820, Dr. Lumsden was appointed Secretary and, under his charge, abuses were checked and many reforms in discipline and study were introduced.

After the departure of Mr. Duncan, the early years of the Benares College were remarkable only for an utter absence of instruction and order. Gigantic misappropriations of funds were made by the first Rector, styled by the wonderful name of Sero Shastri Gooroo Tarkalankar Cashinath Pundit Juder Bedea Behadur. Mr. Brooke, the Governor-General's Agent suggested improvements which were with some amendments carried out by Mr. W. W. Bird in 1812. In 1820, Captain Fell was appointed Secretary and Superintendent, and under him the College attained the reputation for Sanscrit learning that it has since maintained.

With these two institutions the General Committee of Public Instruction commenced its labours. The Sanscrit College at Calcutta was opened by it in 1824; the Delhi College was opened in 1825, for instruction in Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit. The Allahabad School was opened in 1834, and encouragement was given to private Schools at Bhagulpore, Sagar, Midnapore, &c.

In 1834, the operations of the Committee were brought to a stand by an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the principles on which Government support to education should be administered. Half of the Committee called the "Orientalists" were for the continuation of the old system of stipends tenable for twelve or fifteen years to students of Arabic and Sanscrit, and for liberal expenditure on the publication of works in those languages. The other half called the "Anglicists" desired to reduce the expenditure on stipends held by "lazy and stupid school boys of 30 and 35 years of age,"

and to cut down the sums lavished on Sanscrit and Arabic printing. At this juncture, Government requested the Committee to prepare a scheme of instruction for a College at Agra. The Committee were utterly unable to agree on any plan. Five members were in favour of Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit learning, and five in favour of English and the Vernacular, with just so much of the Oriental learned languages as would be necessary to satisfy local prejudices.

The Orientalist party consisted of The Hon'ble H. Shakespeare, Messrs. H. Thoby Prinsep, James Prinsep, W. H. Macnaghten, and T. C. C. Sutherland, the Secretary of the Committee. The Anglicists were Messrs. Bird, Saunders, Bushby, Trevelyan, and J. R. Colvin.

Of this Committee, Sir W. H. Macnaghten became Envoy in Affghanistan and was assassinated there, and the Hon'ble J. R. Colvin died during the mutinies at Agra. James Prinsep is immortalized by his Sanscrit discoveries, and Sir Charles Trevelyan still remains alive, beloved and honored. He deserved, though he did not obtain, for his zealous educational labours in Bengal, the love he has won for his Government at Madras.

Over this Committee, Macaulay on his arrival in India was appointed President, but he declined to take an active part in its proceedings, till the decision of the Supreme Government should be given on the question at issue. The letters of the two parties in the Committee setting forth at great length their opinions, and bearing date the 21st and 22nd January, 1835, came before Macaulay in his capacity of Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, and on them he wrote his minute of the 2nd February, which was followed on the 7th March by Lord Bentinck's decision of the case in favour of the English language. Soon after this decision many new Members were added to the Committee, among whom may be mentioned Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Ross D. Mangles, Mr. C. H. Cameron, Colonel James Young, Baboo, now Raja Radha Kant Deb, Baboo Russomoy Dutt, Mr. C. W. Smith, Captain, now General Sir J. R. H. Birch, and Dr. Grant. Sir Benjamin Malkin was added at a later time.

The business of the Committee was chiefly conducted by minute books. The minutes of Sir Charles Trevelyan are very elaborate. He was indefatigable in the cause of education, and had something to say on every subject. Macaulay's minutes are neither so numerous nor so long as Trevelyan's. Three-fourths of his opinions on the proposals submitted by Mr. Sutherland, the Secretary, are conveyed in the concise expressions "I approve," "I do not object," "I would decline the offer," &c.

Should some of the opinions of Macaulay concerning expenditure appear unnecessarily harsh and niggardly, it must be remembered that the sum available for English education was but the pittance that could be saved by reductions in the Oriental assignments, and that it was right for him to spend with strict frugality, what was gained at the cost of many painful struggles.

It is often said that if a person cannot write five lines of English without blots and corrections, he must be a very poor scholar indeed. Now, there is no doubt that neatness and accuracy are highly desirable, and that the clear and beautiful writing and the finished style of Lord Dalhousie and of Lord Canning indicate a wonderful power in the use of language. Yet it is a great mistake to imagine that the absence of a habit of writing without corrections is a sure mark of inferiority. Scarcely five consecutive lines in any of Macaulay's minutes will be found unmarked by blots or corrections. He himself in a minute, dated 3rd November, 1835, says, "After blotting a good deal of paper I can recommend nothing but a reference to the Governor-General in Council." No member of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1835, wrote so large and uneven a hand as he, and my copyist was always able instantly to single out his writing by the multiplicity of corrections and blots which mark the page. These corrections are now exceedingly valuable, more valuable than the minutes to which they belong. They are themselves a study, and well deserve a diligent examination. When the first master of the English language corrects his own composition, which appeared faultless before, the correction must be based on the highest rules of criticism.

The great minute of the 2nd February, combines in a small compass the opinions which are expressed in nearly the same words through a score or two of detached remarks in the records. This minute was published in England in 1838, but is difficult to obtain in India. I could not find it in any one of the four great Libraries of Calcutta, in the Public Library, nor in the Libraries of St. Paul's Cathedral, of the Asiatic Society, and of the Presidency College. Mr. Arbuthnot, the Director of Public Instruction in Madras, has conferred an obligation on all interested in the preservation of valuable papers by including it in one of his Reports. To rescue it from the oblivion into which it has fallen in Bengal, I add it to these unpublished minutes.

Macaulay's unpublished educational minutes are scattered among some twenty volumes of the records of the General Committee. Four of these volumes are now lost. Some of the

books were circulated among the fourteen or fifteen members of the Committee, others were sent only to Sub-committees, containing five or six members. There were Sub-committees on finance, on books, on the selection of schoolmasters, on the Medical College, and on the Hooghly College. Of the books which went the round of the whole Committee, two were reserved for particular subjects, one marked G. was for the selection and printing of books, and another marked I. for Medical College questions. The other books were kept in constant circulation, and as they came back to the Secretary, were started afresh with precis of new topics for discussion. The same matter is consequently discussed at its different stages in different books. The General Committee seldom met. All business was transacted by the books. Several of the Members urged their opinions with greater warmth and earnestness than is now customary in official correspondence. Lord Auckland in his elaborate educational minute of the 24th November, 1839, remarks concerning their discussions, "Unhappily I have found violent differences existing upon the subject of education, and it was for a time (now I trust past or fast passing away,) a watchword for violent dissension and in some measure of personal feelings. I judged it best, under these circumstances, to abstain from what might have led me into unprofitable controversy, and to allow time and experience to act with their usual healing and enlightening influence upon general opinion."*

UNPUBLISHED MINUTES.

Mr. Macaulay formally gives his assent to the amended instructions issued to Mr. Adam, who was appointed by the Supreme Government to report on the state of Vernacular Education in Bengal. More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since Mr. Adam was instructed to prepare his reports, which he executed in so full and exhaustive a manner, that they

* Some extracts illustrating the warmth of feeling, with which the controversy was conducted, were here introduced, but it has been felt undesirable to publish them.—H. W.

continue to be the best sketches of the state of Vernacular Education that have been submitted to the public.

On the 24th March, 1835, Macaulay writes:—

"I agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that Mr. Adam cannot at present be more usefully employed than in digesting such information on the subject of Native Education, as may be contained in reports formerly made."—[Book E. page 99.]

Mr. Adam in his third Report, p. 2, when reviewing the progress of his enquiry, says, "My appointment by the Governor General in Council is dated 22nd January, 1835, placing me under the orders of the General Committee of Public Instruction, whose instructions I received dated 7th March. On the 8th of April, I obtained the authority of the Committee before proceeding into the interior of the country, to report the amount of information in existing publications and official documents on the subject of Native Education in Bengal, and such a report was accordingly submitted to the Committee on the 1st of July following, and afterwards printed by order of Government." On this first Report of Mr. Adam, Macaulay writes as follows—

"Though Mr. Adam has been directed to correspond with the General Committee, I do not conceive that it was the intention of the Government of India to throw on our funds any part of the expense of his inquiries. The printing of any reports which he may make, the cost of collecting any works which may illustrate the state of the vernacular literature, are matters quite extrinsic to the purposes to which our funds are devoted. Of course the Government which has ordered him to report, will give the necessary orders about his report. We have only to transmit it to the Secretary in the General Department with our opinion of its merits. I have not time at present to inspect it. But I have no doubt from what I know of Mr. Adam, that it deserves the eulogy of the Secretary."—[Book E. page 128.] 13th July, 1835.

Second Report of Mr. Adam.—We are much indebted to Mr. Sutherland for his excellent abstract of Mr. Adam's Report, which those gentlemen who have not time to go through the original will find very useful.

I am surprised to see that in the district (Rajshahi) to which the report refers, a great majority of the people are Mahomedans. Surely this is an exception to the general state of things in Bengal. If so, it would seem desirable that Mr. Adam should next explore some district in which the Hindoo population decidedly predominates. But on this question I submit my judgment to that of gentlemen who possess more local experience.

The report is excellent, and does great credit to Mr. Adam. I approve of all Mr. Sutherland's propositions except the last. Every grant of money ought, in my opinion, to be postponed, until we know precisely the amount of the sum at our disposal. If we cannot afford 50 Rs. a month for the school at Subathoo, we certainly cannot afford 100 Rupees a month for that at Bauleah.—[Book J. page 47.] 7th January, 1836.

Mr. Adam's second Report. Macaulay's plan for promoting Vernacular Education.—I have read with much interest Mr. Shakespear's minute on Mr. Adam's valuable Report. I am a little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measures which he recommends.

I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their place as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our schools are nurseries of School-masters for the next generation.

If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers. As to educating the School-masters who are already established, I quite agree with Mr. Shakespear in thinking that plan chimerical. As to sending others, at present we cannot do it if we would. I doubt whether we have the men, and I am sure that we have not the money.

What Mr. Shakespear recommends as to books I highly approve. But as to stipends I cannot agree with him. But I will not argue that question till some distinct proposition is made.

I would adopt Mr. Shakespear's proposition about the Madrasa at Kusba Bagha. As to the endowments mentioned in the report, pages 43, 45, I do not think that it would be worth while to take any step respecting them. There is something so extravagantly absurd in hereditary professorships that we ought not to express any wish to have them revived. Of course if a man has a legal right to a professorship by inheritance, he ought to obtain it. But that is no business of ours. We can interfere only as a board of public instruction, and for purposes of public instruction, such professorships are evidently useless.

I am a little amused to observe that Mr. Adam who, in page 45 laments the discontinuance of four of these endowments and says that the revival of them would give "an important impulse to learning in the district," tells us in page 42 that two of these endowments are still continued. And what is "the impulse which they give to learning?" "The present holders" says he "are both mere grammarians, in no way dis-

tinguished among their brethren for talents and acquirements. It may be inferred that the endowments were made for the encouragement of learning only from the fact that the learned teachers are the incumbents."

Here are six endowments of the same sort. Two are continued, and Mr. Adam acknowledges that they are mere jobs. But if the other four were revived, an immense impulse would be given to learning. I am forced to say that I do not very clearly see how Mr. Adam has arrived at this conclusion.

The important measures which Mr. Shakespear suggests at the close of his minute well deserve serious consideration. I am so much pressed for time at this moment, that I can only give my opinion very concisely. I look forward to a time when we may do all that Mr. Shakespear suggests and even more. But I greatly doubt whether at present, supposing all preliminary difficulties removed and a grant of 78,000 Rupees annum obtained from the Court of Directors in addition to our present funds, we could not employ that sum better than by setting up Thannah Schools. Several plans have occurred to me which perhaps persons acquainted with the country may at once pronounce absurd. It has occurred to me, though it is a little at variance with what I wrote a few pages before, that if we had the means of offering so small an addition as (2) two rupees a month to the present emoluments of a village School-master, in every case in which such a School-master should satisfy an examiner appointed by us of his fitness to teach elementary knowledge well and correctly as far as he went, we might induce three or four thousand village School-masters to take some pains to qualify themselves for their situation. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that Thannah Schools such as Mr. Shakespear proposes would be no more than village Schools, that the School-masters would be no better than the village School-masters. It could not be expected I imagine that boys would come any distance for such an education as the Thannah Schools would afford. In that case I would rather employ the money, if we could get it, in improving three or four thousand village Schools than in establishing six or seven hundred Thannah Schools.

At present, however, I think we might employ the money better than on either Village or Thannah Schools.

I shall be glad to see what gentlemen who know this country better than I do think on this question.—[Book J. page 127.] 28th September, 1836.

Study of the Mimamsa and Sankhya Philosophers at Benares.—The only argument of the smallest force that can be urged in favour of the encouragement given to the Oriental

systems of science at our colleges, is this, that the people are wedded to those systems, and that by withdrawing our patronage from them, we should disgust our native subjects. Here is a study which nobody describes as useful in itself, "which every body acknowledges to be also unpopular," which has been abandoned by the native youth from mere disgust and weariness. And we, Englishmen, countrymen of Lord Bacon and Locke, are to step in and to do our best to revive it. It is very little to our credit that the natives should have become sick of learning this useless mysticism before we have become sick of teaching it. I would at once decide on adopting the suggestions contained in the 6th and 7th paragraphs of Captain Thoresby's letter. The question as to the disposal of the savings, may lie over for the present.—[Book F. page 57.] 2nd February, 1835.

The first opinion of Lord Macaulay in the Book marked E. is dated the 7th February, 1835. A proposal was made by Mr. Sutherland, the Secretary, to give away a large number of the Committee's oriental publications to the chief Sanscrit and Arabic scholars in Europe. Macaulay only five days before had remarked in his great minute,

"The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print." On the present occasion he simply states "I approve of the proposition."—[Book E. page 82.]

Benares College.—As at present advised I conceive that a sum much smaller than that which Captain Thoresby received would suffice for his successor. That successor ought to take a direct part in the instruction of the English classes. I should be glad to know whether there is now at Benares any gentleman possessed of the requisite attainments to whom 300 or 400 rupees a month would be an object. I say this on the supposition that instruction of a higher kind in English science and literature is at present required in our Benares School. If not, I do not see why we should not save the whole salary. For to pay 750 a month or a fifth part of that sum monthly for a superintendence such as that which Captain Thoresby appears to have exercised over the Sanscrit College seems to me mere waste.—[Book C. page 150.] 26th February, 1835.

Allahabad School.—The School seems to be going on in a very satisfactory manner. The evident anxiety of the natives to obtain instruction in the English language must be highly gratifying to those who, like me, look on that language as the great instrument for civilizing and benefiting India. The

number of English students at Allahabad has doubled in seven months.

The merits of Mr. Cooke seem to be great, and as house-rent has risen at Allahabad, in consequence I suppose of the political importance which the place has lately acquired, I think that the addition of 30 rupees a month may fairly be made.—[Book F. page 54.] 26th March, 1835.

Use of Sub-Committees.—These propositions are important in themselves and very important as they may affect the opinion which the Government may entertain of our management. They ought to be fully considered. And this cannot be done so well as by a Sub-Committee. I propose that Mr. Shakespeare, Mr. Smith and Mr. Colvin be requested to examine Mr. Sutherland's propositions and report on them. I hope this proposition will not be disagreeable to the gentlemen whom I have named.—[Book E. page 120.] 19th June, 1835.

Furruckabad Madrussa.—The whole project has evidently been a thorough take in. To give the 8,000 rupees which are now asked for would be, in my opinion, only to throw good money after bad.

I must say that the Committee ought not to have given 12,000 rupees away without making such stipulations as would have absolutely secured to us the reversionary control. It is quite clear that this large grant of public money, large I call it when compared with the whole sum employed for purposes of education, has been spent in enabling a cunning old Mussulman to acquire a high character for piety and munificence among his brethren at the cost of the state. The only use to which, as far as I can see, this institution can now be put is this, that it may serve as a warning to us in our future dealings with these liberal founders and endowers of colleges.—[Book F. page 77.] 29th May, 1835.

Furruckabad Madrussa.—If the case be as Mr. Smith states it, and certainly he seems to make it out very clearly, it is most extraordinary and most highly reprehensible conduct on the part of the local Committee to call on us to pay 8,000 rupees for what is already lawfully our own. I agree with Mr. Smith in thinking that we should at once assert and enforce our right, and that we should pay nothing more till that right is completely established.—[Book F. page 83.] 20th June, 1835.

Agra College.—I do not very clearly understand on what point we can call on Government for a special reply. There is not, I conceive the smallest difficulty in applying to the particular case of the Agra College the general principles laid down by the Governor General in Council. I presume that

the Secretary has already communicated the orders of Government to the Agra Committee. I should propose that we should call on the Agra Committee to propose a plan for the management of the College in conformity with those orders.—[Book F. page 68.] 12th May, 1835.

Essentials of a School.—I will not oppose the wishes of the local Committee on a question which is not of very great importance. But I do not think that it is at all desirable to encourage a building, planting, and improving taste in the Agra College or in any similar institution. Plain school-rooms and good school-masters, an unadorned compound and a well-furnished library, are what, in the present state of our funds, I should most wish to see. As, however, the outlay is not great, and is made, not out of the public money, but out of the separate resources of the Agra College, I will not object.—[Book E. page 139.] 24th August, 1835.

Agra College.—The prospects at Agra seem to be highly encouraging, and much of what is proposed by the Local Committee appears to me very judicious. But we are not rich enough to do all that they wish, and, were we much richer, I should think that the establishing of Medical scholarships, at least in such numbers, would be a waste of money, and that the founding of Tehsildaree schools would be a premature measure.

The financial statement, if I understand it rightly, when cleared of all extraneous matter, may be exhibited thus—

Income of the College,	1800	Rs. per mensem.
Appropriated to oriental education		
and to stipends,	939	Ditto.
Available immediately for purposes		
of English education,	861	Ditto.

To this sum of 861 Rs. per mensem, an addition will be constantly taking place by the falling in of stipends. The following establishment would I think be found efficient for the purpose of giving the students a liberal English education.

A Principal, to be also a Teacher,	Rs.	450	0	0
A Head Master,		400	0	0
A Second Ditto,		150	0	0
A Third Ditto,		100	0	0
		<hr/>		
		1200	0	0

The Principal should be Mr. Duncan, that gentleman already draws 300 Rs. as Secretary. This office is almost a sinecure. He is ready and desirous to take a more active part in superintending the College; and his fitness for the functions which I propose to assign to him is, I believe, admitted.

For Head Master I would propose Mr. Woollaston. He is desirous to quit his present situation. He is quite useless there. He has qualifications which would make him very useful elsewhere. Agra is the very place for him. I have already expressed my decided opinion that the English class in the Sanscrit College ought to be abolished. We can never have a better opportunity than this. It is only by taking this course that it will be in our power to assist the Agra College. We have not the means, I fear, of allowing 400 Rs. a month to that institution without making a reduction in some other quarter. By abolishing the English class in the Sanscrit College, we gain a good master; we gain money to pay him with; we give an excellent system of education to Agra; we deprive Calcutta of an institution, which appears, from all the evidence before us, to be not only useless, but mischievous.

I do not think it necessary to go, on every occasion, into the question whether we ought, besides furnishing the students with instruction, to pay them for receiving that instruction. If the sense of the Committee is, that the orders of Government on that point ought to be reconsidered, let us address Government on the subject.

If such a proposition should be made, I will state at length the reasons which lead me decidedly to approve of the Government orders. Until such a proposition is made, I think it sufficient to say that, if the general rule be bad, it ought to be altered, and that, if it be good, no reason is assigned for thinking that Agra ought to be made an exception more than Patna, Dacca, Allahabad, Meerut or Benares.—[Book E. page 157.] 7th November, 1835.

Agra College.—Mr. Sutherland's draft is altogether at variance with the determination to which I understand the Committee to have come. He says that we cannot appropriate any portion of our general fund in support of the Agra College. What I proposed, and what I understand the Committee to have resolved, is that the services of Mr. Woollaston shall be transferred to Agra, that the English class in the Sanscrit College shall be done away, and that the sum which we save by getting rid of an useless institution here, shall be employed to assist the Agra College. If this be done, there will be not the smallest difficulty in carrying the whole of my plan into immediate effect. A reference to Government will, I suppose, be necessary. I would suggest that it should be instantly made; and that, till an answer is received, we should make no communication to the Agra Committee.—[Book E. page 171.]

Since the above was written I have learned that Mr. Suther-

land has drafted a letter to Government recommending that the English class in the Sanscrit College should be abolished, and that we should be at liberty to apply the sum which will then fall in to general purposes.

This is quite proper. But the plan which I proposed respecting Agra proceeds wholly on the supposition that Government will accede to this request. I still think therefore that, till the answer of Government arrives, a communication to the local Committee at Agra would be premature; and that a communication like that proposed, in which we hold out no hope whatever of any pecuniary assistance, would be objectionable.—[Book E. page 173.] 25th November, 1835.

Agra College.—The plan which I proposed was framed on the supposition that the income of the Agra College amounted to 1800 Rs. at which Mr. Sutherland estimated it in his former minute (page 152). However, even in the supposition that the income amounts only to 1682 Rs. it will soon be in our power to carry the whole plan into effect; and there is nothing to prevent us from beginning our operations immediately. I approve of the letter which Mr. Sutherland has drafted; and I hope that Mr. Woollaston will set off immediately. 30th December, 1836.

Travelling expenses.—I hardly know what to say to this application. Mr. Woollaston ought not to be either a loser or a gainer by his journey. His salary will run during the whole time that he is going up; and I can scarcely think that he will want more than that sum for travelling charges. At all events 1200 Rs. seems a very large grant. I wish that gentlemen better acquainted than I am with the cost of travelling in this country, would give their opinions before I finally make up my mind as to my vote.

There can be no objection, I think to the advance. January, 1836.

Increase to Mr. Nicholls' Salary at Benares.—I should like to understand a little more distinctly the nature of Mr. Nicholls' claim. He says that he took his situation "with an understanding distinctly expressed," (not a very distinct expression on his part) that his salary was to be raised: and the members of the Local Committee speak of the "expectations which were held out to him." Mr. Sutherland's minute contains no trace of any such engagement, nor is it said whether the expectations were held out by us or by the Local Committee. If by the latter, it seems to me very important that the Local Committees should understand that they have no authority to give out pledges in our name.

The application may be a very proper one. But I should

like to be satisfied as to the preliminary question, whether we are free to take the expediency of compliance into consideration, or whether anything has passed which binds us.—[Book F. page 87.] 7th July, 1835.

Sanscrit College, Benares. Law Pundits.—I own that I do not very clearly see what we have to do with the law opinions which the Pundits may give to the Courts, and as to the proposition that we should, out of the education fund, pay them salaries which may raise them above the temptation of dealing corruptly in their capacity of law advisers, it seems to me most extravagant. It is not our business to look after the purity of the administration of justice. That is an object which the Government ought to provide for, and to provide for, if necessary, out of the general revenues of the state. We have nothing to do with these Pundits in any other capacity than as teachers. We must pay enough to have good teachers. If the Government wants their services in another capacity let the Government pay for their services. We have quite enough to do without undertaking the business of making the native law officers of the Company's Courts honest.

I see no sufficient reason for altering the present arrangement. I agree with Mr. Sutherland in disapproving the proposed conclave of Pundits. They are the very people who want a visitor, and it would be poor policy to set them to visit themselves.—[Book F. page 90.] 7th July, 1835.

Benares Seminary.—I imagine that Mr. Nicholls must have organized his School on the Lancasterian plan. In no other way certainly can I conceive how one master and one assistant can teach so many boys (124 students).

I have for some time had it in contemplation to bring before the Committee, some propositions respecting the introduction of the system of mutual instruction into our Schools. Unless we adopt this principle, we shall never, I feel convinced, be able to supply the demands which the native population are making on us.

I wish that Mr. Sutherland would be so good as to ask Mr. Nicholls to explain to us in detail the arrangements which he has made. This mode of instruction, whether it be precisely the Lancasterian or not, must be well worth knowing, if it really produces so considerable an effect at so small a cost.—[Book F. page 128.] 6th October, 1835.

Mr. Nicholls seems to be going on very satisfactorily. But his letter and indeed every thing else that I see convinces me that the want of good English books is what at present chiefly keeps back our Schools. This deficiency, I trust, will very soon be supplied. [Book F. page 135.] 13th November, 1835.

Benares Local Committee.—I cannot agree with Mr. Sutherland. The conduct of Colonel * * * has, by his own acknowledgment, been indiscreet and improper. He owns that he had brought these Bengalees into a scrapo. He owns that he has talked without due caution on the subject of their dispute with Mr. Nicholls. When the fullest allowance is made for the unguarded style of private correspondence, I cannot think that his letters hold out any great hopes that his introduction into the Local Committee would render the proceedings of that body more discreet or more harmonious. Of Mr. Nicholls, he says that, though a good man, he is no orientalist. Now, we did not send Mr. Nicholls to Benares as an orientalist, and if Colonel * * * thinks that we did, he is evidently unacquainted with the whole system on which we are proceeding. I may be mistaken, but from the tone of the Colonel's letters, it appears to me that he dislikes the principles on which we now propose to give education to the people of India, and that therefore, however, excellent his intentions may be, he is not a fit person to be a member of a body which is bound to act on those principles.

I dislike also what he says about the necessity of putting military men on the Committee as a check on the Civilians. Hitherto we have never, to the best of my belief, been troubled by any such idle jealousies. I would appoint the fittest men without caring to what branch of the service they belonged, or whether they belonged to the service at all.

I think it highly probable that Mr. Nicholls may be to blame, because I have seldom known a quarrel in which both parties were not to blame. But I see no evidence that he is so, except the assertion of the two Bengalees who are interested and hostile parties, and who have certainly put themselves in the wrong by the very irregular and disrespectful course which, under the guidance of Colonel * * *, they pursued. Nor do I see any evidence which tends to prove that Mr. Nicholls leads the Local Committee by the nose. The Local Committee appear to have acted with perfect propriety; and I cannot consent to treat them in the manner recommended by Mr. Sutherland. It is plain that if we appoint Colonel * * * to be a member of their body, we shall in effect pass a most severe censure on their proceedings. I therefore most strongly dissent from this proposition.

At the same time I admit that the Committee is too small, and it is desirable to make an addition to it. But, as I do not see that the present members have deserved at our hands any but the most respectful treatment, as they appear to understand our views, and as they must be far better acquainted

than most of us can be with the society of Benares, I propose that we should request them to suggest the names of such persons as they conceive would be useful members. We shall of course exercise our own discretion as to what they may recommend.—[Book F. page 145.] 19th December, 1835.

Proposal to substitute English for Persian in the Bhaugulpore School for Hill Youths.—I think that we should be very much to blame if we were not to accept readily the very liberal offer of Captain Graham. The only doubt which I feel on the subject arises from his expressions respecting the Missionaries, expressions in themselves quite unobjectionable, but still such as suggest the necessity of caution.

I should propose that we should accede to Captain Graham's proposal and thank him for his liberality, reminding him at the same time, with all delicacy, that direct religious instruction must not form a part of the plan of education at any of our Schools.—[Book F. page 43.] 26th February, 1835.

Bhaugulpore School for Hill people.—If the School cannot stand without our paying the students, it must fall. The orders of Government are express. We have not the power, and I have not the least inclination, to disobey them.

While the School exists, I should recommend that English should be substituted for Persian. I should hope that we might find that Major Graham's prognostications are too gloomy.

I cannot find in Major Graham's letters anything about the 20 Rs. a month referred to in Mr. Sutherland's minutes, I apprehend that there must be some mistake.—[Book F. page 112.] 12th July, 1835.

Bhaugulpore School for Hill people.—I cannot understand on what principle we can go back to Government without having made the trial which we were directed to make, and being only able to state the opinion of the local Committee, which we stated before. I am strongly opposed to the stipendiary system generally. If there are any political reasons for making an exception in the case of this School, the charge ought to be a political charge and not to come out of our small funds.

I am quite in favour of trying the experiment of amalgamating Mahomedans and Hindoos.—[Book F. page 142.]

Sasseram Madrassa.—Before we do anything more for this Seminary, I should like to know whether anything worth knowing be taught in it. We had better obtain full information as to its system and its efficiency before we decide.—[Book F. page 29.] 6th January, 1835.

General Committee. Sasseram Madrussa.—I do not conceive that the resolution of Government prohibits the Committee from giving sums of money as prizes for conspicuous merit. I am strongly of opinion that pecuniary prizes should be given in the form of single sums, and not in the form of monthly stipends. It is not necessary, however, to go into that question at present.

The plan now under consideration, as far as I understand it, is not one which we ought to encourage by a grant of money. The place is not one of the first importance. It is not in a situation where we can reckon on European inspection and controul. The very inconvenient and precarious sort of superintendence proposed by Captain Thoresby would, I conceive, be of no use whatever. The scholarships are evidently of that kind which Adam Smith condemned more than fifty years ago, and which the late orders of Government positively forbid us to institute. The sum which we are called on to contribute, would suffice to establish a School on better principles, at a more important place, and under a more efficient controul. I therefore vote against the grant.—[Book H. page 6.] 24th March, 1835.

Demand for the refund of Nawab Fuzal Ali Khan's benefaction of Rupees 1,70,000 to Delhi College.—Our duty is clear. We are to fulfil the injunctions of the late Nawab, and if the late Nawab has left no injunctions, we are to fulfil the injunctions of the Governor-General in Council.

The late Nawab does not appear, from any document that is before us to have made it a condition of his grant, that part of the grant should be applied to the support of students. Part of the grant has been so applied; but that was by order of the Government, and the Government has now revoked that order. If Mr. Sutherland can point out any evidence that the Nawab stipulated that part of the funds should be so employed, I shall give my assent, reluctantly indeed, to keeping the scholarships up. But I am not able to find any evidence to that effect. The letter from the Resident of Delhi to Mr. Sterling contains nothing of the kind. This being the case, I conceive that the general orders of Government must be carried into effect.—[Book H. page 58.] 8th June, 1835.

Nawab Fuzal Ali Khan's benefaction to Delhi College.—The statement given by Mr. Sutherland is not complete. The Government want to know how much is expended on Arabic and Persian. Mr. Sutherland's statement shews only what the teachers of Arabic and Persian receive, not what the learners receive. It is plain that they must receive at the very least 256 Rupees; which, added to the 285 Rupees paid to the teachers, makes the

whole sum paid in encouraging Arabic and Persian amount to 541 Rupees, within 25 Rupees of the Nawab's fund. This is the lowest calculation. Probably, what is paid for the promotion of Mahomedan literature exceeds 566 Rupees.

Whatever the facts may be, we ought to have them before us, and to state them fully to Government.

Unless I knew more of Nemid Ali Khan, I should not feel inclined to admit him to any share in the management of any part of the institution except that which is supported by his relative's donation.—[Book H. page 161.] 23rd November, 1835.

Further Memorandum.—Then we spend on Arabic and Persian 200 Rupees a month more than the amount of the Nawab's fund.—[Book H. page 196.] 6th January, 1836.

Petition against the abolition of stipends.—I am quite willing that the Government should see these petitions. Indeed I should particularly wish the petition of the Pundits to be generally known for that document seems to me quite sufficient by itself to decide the question, which lately divided the Committee. It states in the strongest and clearest language that nobody will learn Sanscrit for the sake of knowing Sanscrit. "If no stipends be given to the students for their attendance, we shall soon be deserted by our pupils."

But though I am quite willing that the Government should see this petition, I do not think that we ought to send it up. The Pundits can petition the Governor-General in Council directly. Indeed a paper so closely resembling this, that I am not sure that they are not the same, was laid before Council only a week ago. But when we transmit to the Government a petition addressed to ourselves, we seem to indicate that we think the prayer deserving of consideration. We invite the Government to reconsider its orders. I altogether object to taking any step which can be so construed.

The question relating to the Hindoo College had better be referred to the Sub-Committee which will, I hope, shortly be appointed for the purpose of superintending that institution.—[Book H. page 16.] 16th April, 1835.

Stipends in the Medical Class of the Sanscrit College.—I agree, and I would go still further. I own that, in my opinion, these unfortunate people are entitled, in reason and justice to be treated as the other holders of stipends have been, and any proposition for recommending their case to Government shall have my support.—[Book H. page 24.] 22nd April, 1835.

Stipends.—I am decidedly opposed to the stipendiary system. I believe that it is in itself an evil, and I am sure that here, where the fund for the purposes of education is so small,

it would be in the highest degree pernicious to spend any part of it in hiring boys to come and learn what they are not desirous to know. I am truly glad, though not at all surprised, to find that the rule established by Government has produced no unfavorable effect on the number of students at the Delhi College.—[Book J. page 1.] 27th October, 1835.

Baboo Ramlochan Ghose, gift of Rupees 1,000 to the Dacca School.—Thank the Baboo by all means, but do not let us pledge ourselves to employ his money as he suggests.*—[Book H. page 38.] 14th May, 1835.

Dacca College.—I do not think the aspect of things at Dacca by any means discouraging, I should doubt, however, about the expediency of either building or buying a house. I should think that it would be the best course to hire premises for the present. If, as Mr. Lowis believes, and as there seems every reason to expect, scholars should come in fast, and the institution should thrive, we shall probably find before long that the school will, in a great measure, maintain itself. Then we may without imprudence build or buy a house. On this point, however, I feel by no means confident in my own judgment.

I do not quite understand what Mr. Sutherland means by his proposition about the study of Persian. I apprehend that the master whom we have sent to Dacca is not competent to teach that language. And I should certainly object to paying out of our funds any master for that purpose. Indeed under the orders of Government, we have no authority to pay such a master. But if the students at our School wish to learn Persian and are willing to pay a teacher of that language, or if the population of Dacca are disposed to subscribe for the purpose of supporting such a teacher, I have not the least objection to let him have the use of our School-house at all proper times, and every other facility and assistance which we can afford to him, without prejudice to what I consider as more important objects. But none of our students ought to be forced to study Persian as part of the regular course of his education.

Religious instruction is of course excluded.—[Book H. page 89.] 21st July, 1835.

Mr. Wilkinson's request for a School at Schore in Bhupal.—This application is one with which on many accounts I should be most happy to comply. But the expense would be great: and there is also a strong objection on principle to carrying our exertions at present beyond the frontier of the Company's territories. The district which we are requested to furnish with a School-master is not at present a part of those

* The Baboo's suggestion referred to another matter and not to this donation which was quite unrestricted.—H. W.

territories. Should it ever be annexed to them, the application will come before us on different grounds.

I think, first, that our funds, unless they were much larger than they now are, or than they are likely soon to be, may be much more advantageously employed in those parts of India in which the British dominion is fully established, than in those states which still retain a partial independence.

I think, secondly, that, if we adopt a different principle, and determine to send School-masters, and School-masters, be it observed, of the highest rate of salary, to places beyond the British frontier, there are places of far more importance than Sehoré to which we ought first to attend.

On these grounds, though with regret, I think that we cannot accede to Mr. Wilkinson's request concerning the School-master. His application for books is not sufficiently definite to enable me to judge whether we can, with propriety, grant it.—[Book H. page 71.] 4th July, 1835.

Gift to the Bhopal School of Rupees 300 for books.—Though I think that some of the objections which may be made to our supporting Schools out of the Company's territories apply to our giving books to such Schools, I feel so strongly that we ought not, except in case of absolute necessity, to discourage so zealous and valuable a friend as Mr. Wilkinson that I shall not object to the proposition.—[Book H. page 93.] 29th July, 1835.

School at Ghazipore.—We shall have, I hope and trust, enough money to enable us to accede to the applications from Ghazipore. But I agree with Mr. Colvin that we had better postpone the returning of any positive answer till we have taken a general view of all the applications of the same kind, which have been made, and till an exact statement of our funds is before us.—[Book H. page 33.] 30th April, 1835.

School-masters.—If our funds are in the state described by Mr. Trevelyan, I would much rather send four School-masters to four places now unprovided than supply the four head Masters with deputies.—[Book H. page 36.] 11th May, 1835.

Sub-committee for the selection of Masters.—The Sub-committee have, as I can vouch, discharged their duty with eminent industry and zeal, and quite in the spirit of their instructions, if not always according to the letter of them. I propose that their proceedings be approved and the contracts made by them ratified.—[Book H. page 56.] 8th June, 1835.

Remarks of the General Committee on the Madras Report.—The only passage in the proposed reply to which I object is, that in which we suggest the propriety of endowing a few

scholarships at Madras. Such an arrangement would, in my opinion, be inexpedient: but be this as it may, it would be hardly proper in us to recommend it to Government after the strong manner in which Government has expressed its feeling on the subject.—[Book H. page 63.] 13th June, 1835.

The case of the corrector of the Sanscrit Press.—I feel great commiseration for this poor man, and if there be any small place which is really necessary, I should be glad if he could be put into it. But I do not like to create a place for him. I would rather give him a small pension, for a pension dies of course with the holder. But the place may last as long as the College. It has always been my earnest wish that no person might suffer at all in his pecuniary interest in consequence of the late changes. And I am quite prepared to concur in any reasonable proposition in favour of this petitioner.—[Book H. page 69.] 29th June, 1835.

Petition of Moulvie Gholam Makdoom, the corrector of the Arabic Press for remuneration, owing to the abolition of his appointment.—A certificate by all means, but it does not appear to me that the situation of corrector of the Press is one which can be considered as creating any claim whatever to extra remuneration. This person was paid while he served the Committee. He had no life-interest in his employment. He might have been dismissed any morning with or without a reason. I do not see that I am bound to give him remuneration any more than, when I leave India, I shall be bound to give my cook or my coachman any compensation for the loss of their places, after having paid them wages for their services.—[Book H. page 123.] 12th September, 1835.

Limit of age, inexpedient.—The only point about which I entertain a doubt is the proposed limitation with respect to age. The *onus probandi* always lies on those who propose a restriction; and I do not clearly see any sufficient reason for the restriction now proposed. Suppose that a young man of sixteen or seventeen, wishes to enter at the Madrassa and to attend the lectures, I cannot conceive why he should not be permitted to do so.—[Book E. page 126.]—1st July, 1835.

A limit of age in English Schools inexpedient.—I do not very clearly see the reason for establishing a limit as to age. The phenomena are exactly the same which have always been found to exist when a new mode of education has been rising into fashion. No man of fifty now learns Greek with boys. But in the sixteenth century it was not at all unusual to see old Doctors of Divinity attending lectures side by side with young students. I should be sorry to deny to any native of any age the facilities which our schools might afford

to him for studying the English language.—[Book J. page 7.] 3rd November, 1835.

Separation of Hindus and Mussulmans.—I do not at all like the plan of separating the Hindus from the Mahomedans. But I think it a less evil than the complete exclusion of the Hindus of Moorshedabad from the advantages of a liberal education. I would attempt to educate the two races together. If that attempt fails, I would educate them separately. But I certainly would not suffer either class to monopolize the benefits of public instruction.—[Book E. page 137.] 7th August, 1835.

Application for aid to the School at Futtehpoore.—I am always unwilling to discourage efforts so useful as those which Mr. Madden is making. I fear, however, that we cannot with propriety give any money; and I do not observe that he asks for books. It will be our best course, I think, to return a very complimentary answer, expressing our regret that at present we are not rich enough to assist him, and begging him to let us hear from time to time how his School is going on.—[Book H. page 87.] 20th July, 1835.

Aid to a private School at Hooghly.—We had better wait for the answer of the Government about the Hooghly College. If a really good institution can be founded there at which all classes may receive education, it would be idle to set up a smaller School in the neighbourhood.—[Book H. page 153.] 13th November, 1835.

Benares Seminary.—I observe that the Local Committee are desirous to abolish the Persian class which they agree in considering as useless for every purpose, except that of training practitioners for the Courts. I do not quite understand whether they conceive that they are competent to adopt this measure by their own authority, or whether they mean to apply to us for permission. If our sanction be necessary, I vote for giving them full liberty to act, in this respect, as they may think most advisable.—[Book J. page 10.] 3rd November, 1835.

Meerut School House.—If Mr. Harris's claims had been earlier brought to our notice, something might have been done. As things stand, I should like to have the opinion of the gentlemen who were so useful to us in the selection of the Schoolmasters.

I cannot quite agree with the Secretary about the rent of the Custom House. The Military Board are justified in getting all that they can from us. The Secretary to the Meerut Committee owns that we must pay what they ask, if they insist on it. In insisting on it under such circumstances they only do their duty; and what we should do in their place. I should

greatly doubt the success of such an application to Government.—[Book H. page 117.] 2nd September, 1835.

Meerut School House.—To ask the Government to let our Schools have houses for a rent lower than that which the Military Board demands, and which it is admitted that the Military Board can make the School pay, is to ask the Government for money. And what chance there is of success in such an application, any person who has paid attention to the late proceedings of Government, may easily judge.

The value of the house is not the question. It may be intrinsically worth very little. But if, on account of its situation or of the difficulty of procuring another building, it has at present an extraordinary price in the market, the Military Board do their duty in demanding that extraordinary price. If a mortality were to break out among the horses at Calcutta, any one of us whose horse might survive, would demand a price for him much higher than the original purchase money, in consequence of the state of the market.

I greatly doubt whether the Governor-General in Council would allow Mr. Sutherland's illustration of an opposition coach to be quite correct. The Governor-General would probably say, "I am forced to give you a lac a year for purposes of education. In the present state of the finances, I will not give you an anna more. If I were free to decide, probably I should not give you so much. I will not suffer you by indirect means to obtain a larger share of the revenues of the state, than that which the law compels me to assign to you."

I am against making the application, because I am not sure that it is proper, and because I am quite sure that it would be unavailing.—[Book H. page 120.] 11th September, 1835.

Meerut School House.—If Mr. Harris's services are really wanted, I think that we might pay the 20 Rupees a month which are in dispute between the Military Board and the Local Committee at Meerut. It seems rather strange to me that the difference between 30 and 50 Rupees a month should be so much felt at so large an European station.—[Book H. page 127.] 6th October, 1835.

Patna School.—Mr. Trevelyan has received a letter from Mr. Clift, which I have requested him to send round with the papers which the Secretary has circulated. The difficulties appear to have been great. But the project is most encouraging. I observe that several gentlemen who have not been made members of the Local Committee appear to take an interest in the success of our plans. I should be glad if our Secretary would ascertain whether any of those gentlemen would like to be appointed.—[Book H. page 113.] 29th August, 1835.

Appointment of Chaplains as members of Local Committees.—I am truly glad to see how well our School is going on at Dacca. To the appointment of Major Blacknull there can be no objection. As to Mr. Shephard, I must own that, though I would by no means exclude Chaplains, as such, from the Local Committees, yet I do not think that the mere circumstance of being a Chaplain is a recommendation. In all such cases I should like to have some assurance that the individual is not a person likely to be hurried beyond the limits of discretion by feelings which, however laudable, we are not at liberty to indulge in our public capacity. But though I think that this ought to be our general rule, I will not object to the appointment of Mr. Shephard.—[Book H. page 99.] 15th August, 1835.

The system of mutual instruction.—The system of mutual instruction is not I conceive, by any means fitted for teaching the sciences. But whatever is mere matter of memory and does not require the exercise of the reasoning powers, such as the vocabulary of a language, may be taught by that system. I admit that you cannot with advantage teach the higher mathematics in that way. But the English language can be taught and taught very well and effectually, in that way. The English language, I conceive, is the great avenue by which the people of this country must arrive at all valuable knowledge. A native, without that language, can never have more than a smattering of science: and it is well if even that smattering be free from error. A native, with that language has ready access to full and accurate information on every subject, and will be able, if his natural talents are great, to make very considerable advances in knowledge, even without the aid of a teacher. By the system of mutual instruction, we shall be able to impart a knowledge of that language to a much greater number of pupils than by any other arrangement.

I earnestly hope that the Committee will try the experiment. Without some such arrangement, our means will not enable us to educate one-tenth of those who will apply to us for instruction.

The only proposition now before us is, that Mr. Trevelyan be permitted to publish extracts from Mr. Clift's letter. I can see no objection to his doing so.—[Book H. page 139.] 20th October, 1835.

Introduction of the Monitorial system in the Dacca School.—It seems very singular that the Local Committee should have forwarded Mr. Ridge's application without expressing any opinion whatever, as to the expediency of what he proposes. The necessity for engaging an assistant, the qualifications of Mr. Gunn, and the propriety of hiring a house are matters about

which it is particularly desirable that we should have the opinion of gentlemen who are on the spot. I propose that the Secretary should write forthwith on this subject. I should wish the Local Committee also to be requested to take into their consideration the expediency of establishing the monitorial system. It is quite plain that we have not funds which will enable us to supply every thirty boys with a master. If we do this at Dacca, we shall have similar calls from other places.

It is possible that Mr. Ridge may dislike the monitorial system. It is a system which requires considerable exertion on the part of the Head-master, and which may therefore be less agreeable to him than a system under which he is suffered to transfer a portion of his own responsibility to an assistant. But it is my decided opinion, that, on this point we must make no concession to the prejudices or to the indolence of those who are in our employment. The monitorial system, and that system alone, can succeed here. If the present masters are not disposed to carry it rigorously into effect, we must find masters who will, though we should have to send to England for them.—[Book H. page 155.] 18th November, 1835.

Change from Sicca Rupees to Company's Rupees.—I am in considerable doubt as to the mode in which the Government order ought to be construed with respect to the forms employed by us, and after blotting a good deal of paper I can recommend nothing but a reference to the Governor-General in Council.—[Book H. page 150.] 3rd November, 1835.

Patna School. The Lancastrian system and prizes.—I agree with the Secretary in thinking that the Committee at Patna ask for more than we ought to give. I would let them have a good Moonshee for the purpose of giving instruction in the vernacular language. Such a Moonshee may be procured, I imagine, for 50 Rupees a month. If the number of pupils is too great for him to teach directly, the monitorial system must be used in that as in other departments. Whatever objections may be made to that system, as a mode of conveying instruction in the higher walks of literature and science, none can be made to it as a mode of teaching lads to read and write their mother tongue. The vernacular school at Patna will be exactly what one of Mr. Lancaster's schools was in England.

As to the 400 Rupees which are asked for prizes, I think the sum large, and I cannot help fearing that it may be injudiciously laid out. I should wish the Local Committee to be asked how many prizes they propose to give, and how often. The practice of giving almost as many prizes as they are students is in the highest degree pernicious. It destroys all emulation. It is also a heavy expense to us. The most

trifling honorary distinction, a copper medal, or a book worth two rupees, if given only to one highly distinguished student, will do more to excite industry than a thousand rupees laid out in making presents to the majority of the boys of the school. We have already come to a resolution on the subject. But from the amount requested by the Patna Committee and from some of the expressions which they have used, I fear that our views may not be correctly understood by them.—[Book H. page 169.] 2nd December, 1835.

It has been considered desirable to omit the minute which originally occupied this space. H. W.

The change from Sicca to Company's Rupees.—As the discretion is left to us, I would make no reduction. Some of the payments which we are bound to make are in the nature of debts; and we must pay them at the higher rate. Some are strictly salaries; but I do not think them higher than they ought to be. I would therefore convert the payments which

we make in Bengal at the rate of 106½ Company's Rupees to 100 Siccas.

The Schoolmasters who went into the provinces where the Furruckabad rupee is current, understood, if I am rightly informed, that their salaries were to be paid in that rupee. About them, of course, there will be no difficulty.—[Book H. page 167.] 2nd December, 1835.

Assam Schools.—I think that the correspondence should be submitted to Government. We have of course nothing to do with Moravian establishments, which are always proselyting establishments, nor can I agree with Captain Jenkins in thinking that it is only where the Brahminical religion is concerned that we ought to observe strict neutrality on theological points. As to the 100 Rupees per mensem, I am in the dark as to what we can, and what we cannot, afford; and until that matter is quite clear, I will express no opinion as to Captain Jenkins' application.—[Book H. page 193.]

When the Secretary circulated the educational report for 1834, Macaulay writes:

"As this report relates to a time when I was not a member of the Committee and when a different system was in operation, I do not venture to give any opinion respecting it."—[Book J. page 31.] 16th December, 1835.

Classification of the Students at the Annual Examination.—I cannot quite approve either of the old annual form or of that proposed by Mr. Trevelyan. A report of an examination is quite a different thing from a report of the general state of the School. I have not much experience in these matters. But as it seems to me, the best course would be to adopt Mr. Trevelyan's suggestion respecting quarterly reports, and to have the results of the annual examinations stated in some such perfectly simple form as this.

1ST CLASS.

English reading.	Arithmetic.	Mathematics.	English Composition.	Writing.
A	B	B	A	A
B	C	C	B	E
C	D	D	E	B
D	E	E	D	D
E	A	A	C	C

I mean that the names only should appear in the table. Any information about any particular pupil could always be obtained by looking at the quarterly report.—[Book H. page 198.] 9th January, 1836.

Slow lapse of Stipends at Benares.—Mr. Nicholls seems to have taken sufficient care to prevent imposition. The time of studentship (12 years) seems to me absurdly long.* However, I do not see how, under the orders of Government, we can disturb the existing usage.—[Book K. page 72.] 1st June, 1836.

Reduction of Stipends at Agra College.—I would abolish the preparatory School. But I do not think that consistently with the orders of Government, we can make any reduction, however proper in itself such reduction may be, of the existing stipends.—[Book L. page 33.] 11th June, 1836.

Stipends at the Nizamut School.—I agree with Mr. Sutherland, except on one point. I would give no stipends to the Nizamut pupils. If stipends are given at all, they ought not to be confined to the Nizamut pupils. If they are, as I imagine, given to those pupils on account of the dignity of their family, they ought to be paid out of a different fund, and not to enter into the charges of a place of education.

I propose that we should tell the Local Committee that we very much regret the difficulty which there appears to be in putting the Nizamut students on the same footing with other pupils, that we trust that every thing in the power of the Local Committee will be done to efface distinctions so inconsistent with the spirit which ought to prevail at a place of education, that we generally object to the stipendiary system, and that all our objections to that system appear to be peculiarly applicable to stipends such as those which Mr. Melville recommends. It seems unnecessary to be offering salaries to one set of persons to come to the School, while we are at the same time forced to turn off others who are willing to learn gratis. The demand for instruction is such that the number of instructors is not sufficient. During the last three months no new pupil has been admitted. Mr. Melville proposes to reduce the present number. And yet, under the circumstances, he proposes to pay stipends and erect lodgings for a particular class of the students, distinguished from the rest only by rank and not by any peculiar proficiency in learning. I would therefore decline complying with what is proposed as to stipends. I am not sure that I would sanction any building on account of these Nizamut

* (The Secretary states that the age of five years is the "scriptural" age to begin letters.—H. W.)

Students. I would also beg the Local Committee to consider whether it be impossible to make an addition to the number of instructors, so as to be able to admit more pupils. I cannot but feel uneasy when I find that the eagerness with which the people have been pressing to avail themselves of the advantages of education has been discouraged. And I certainly cannot consent to pay anybody to study until we have the means of furnishing instruction to all who are desirous to study without being paid.—[Book L. page 57.] 30th September, 1836.

Proposal for the increase of Stipends at the Sanscrit College.—This has been decided already. The general practice has been to refuse such applications. This was not done in the Madrassa at first, only because the matter was not noticed. I would reject the proposition.—[Book K. page 103.] 30th November, 1836.

Stipends at Benares.—I would agree to no increase. There are at the head of the list two students of twenty-two, who have been seven or eight years at College and have not learned their Grammar yet. I would desire the Local Committee to report which of the students have and which have not made respectable progress. Those who have not made such progress, I would deprive of their studentships. Twelve years is an unreasonably long term. I would recommend eight as the maximum.—[Book L. page 97.] 21st February, 1837.

Stipends to the Sanscrit College.—I am against the promotion. I think it contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the Government Orders, and also to sound reason.

We are now proceeding on the principle that stipends are bad things, which have been abolished as such, and that those which are spared for the present have been spared only from a regard for vested interest. The question whether the stipends be or be not bad things is no part of the question now before us. Those who differ from me on that subject can at any time raise the question and call on the Government to reconsider its decision. At present I take it for granted that we are only considering what justice to the existing holders requires.

Now I never heard that when an abuse was to be abolished, any person who had no vested interest in that abuse was held to have a claim to any compensation. An interest not in possession may be an interest for which compensation ought to be given. But then it must be a vested interest. A contingent interest not in possession is quite a different thing.

In 1833, parliament abolished prospectively half a dozen Irish bishoprics, the rights of the existing incumbents were respected; but, as the sees fell in, the revenues were devoted to other purposes. What would have been said if clergymen

who did not hold bishoprics had demanded compensation for the chance of being Bishops, which they had thus lost ?

In 1817, parliament abolished the lucrative places of Teller of the Exchequer, Auditor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice in Eyre, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and many other similar sinecures. The rights of the existing holders were strictly respected; and if any of those places had been granted in reversion, which, I believe, was not the case, the rights of the persons in whom the reversion had vested, would doubtless have been recognized too. But there, of course, parliament stopped. Nobody ventured to say—"I am a public man. I stood very fair for a Tellership of the Exchequer. I had as good a chance as anybody of having it when it fell in. Therefore I have an interest in the continuance of those places, and I am injured if that interest be not protected."

The interest of the holders of stipends in the stipends which they hold is a vested interest; and I would protect it. Their interest in any stipend beyond what they hold is not a vested interest, and I would pay no regard to it.

I never can admit that their hopes are to be the criterion. Many an Irish Curate might have hoped four years ago to be Bishop of some see which is now abolished. But that was no reason for keeping such a see when it was thought desirable to get rid of it. A young politician twenty years ago might have hoped to be Chief Justice in Eyre, South of Trent. But that was no reason for keeping up such a situation when it was found to be useless.

Nay this argument proves too much. For if the pupils who had small stipends hoped for larger stipends, so did the pupils who had no stipends hope for stipends; so did boys who were not yet pupils hope to be stipendiary pupils. Where is the distinction? "Let those who have anything, keep it," is a plain rule. I know who they are: I can estimate the whole effect of such a principle. But "Let those who hope for anything, get it," is quite a different rule. No reason can possibly be assigned for giving ten rupees now to a boy who had five rupees in 1833, which is not exactly as good a reason for giving five rupees now to a boy who had nothing in 1833. I say therefore, Stick to the plain principle. Protect vested interests, and as to the rest consider yourselves as perfectly free.—[Book K. page 126.] 16th February, 1837.

My opinion is unchanged. I am satisfied that the interest of the boys in stipends which they had not in possession was not a vested interest. I would ask Mr. Colvin this question. Suppose that it had been thought desirable for the interest of the school to diminish the number and increase the value of

the stipends, or to increase their number and diminish their value, would any student have dreamed of complaining that he was deprived of a vested interest? or suppose that it had been determined to fix on a higher standard of proficiency as necessary to entitle a student to an increase, would this have been spoliation? Suppose that it had been determined to make a law that no student who was not able to read a particular book, or who had not attended a certain number of days, should be entitled to promotion, would this have been spoliation? I cannot think that anybody would answer these questions in the affirmative; and if not, then, I say, there was no vested right. For if there were a vested right, that right is as much invaded when it is made by an *ex post facto* law dependent on a new contingency as when it is wholly abolished. I vote against the promotion.—[Book K. page 142.] 5th April, 1837.

Prizes at the Hindu College.—The report is on the whole satisfactory and the essays respectable. We ought to thank Dr. Mill for his valuable services on this occasion.

If I understand rightly, the old practice with respect to prizes will be followed at the approaching distribution. I must again repeat that in my opinion it is worse than useless to bestow honorary distinctions on more than the two or three highest in each department of study. I hope that we shall soon introduce into the Hindoo College the same system which we have established elsewhere.

I shall be happy to attend, and still more happy if the Governor General would consent to be present. I am certain that he will be here, as he always was in England, a firm friend to education. But we must consider that his time is very much occupied and that he has already agreed to give a morning to the introductory lecture at the Medical College. Two mornings in a month are a good deal to ask from a Governor General.—[Book J. page 63.] 12th March, 1836.

Prizes at Benares (37 to 149 boys.)—Certainly too much. Our honorary rewards are quite depreciated by this sort of over-issue. The attention of the Local Committee must be called to the subject.—[Book K. page 84.] 28th July, 1836.

Good prizes for Essays.—I approve generally of Mr. Trevelyan's propositions. As the scholars in our Schools make advances in their studies, considerable modifications of these rules will become necessary. At present, I see no objection to adopting them as they stand.

I am not sure that it is desirable that one fixed sum of Rs. 50 should be the prize for the best Essay. Much must depend on the extent of the composition. At some Schools 20 Rs. would be enough. A hundred or two hundred would not be consi-

derable at the Hindoo College.—[Book K. page 90.] 5th September, 1836.

Moorshebad Prizes too numerous. Mr. Melville's proposal for giving Stipends.—The prizes are too numerous. There are twenty-two prizes among sixty-seven boys. Here, by the bye, I may observe that our orders respecting prizes have been utterly neglected at the Hindoo College. At the late distribution, there were at least ten times as many as ought to have been given. I can vouch from having examined the first class, that two prizes, at the utmost, would have been sufficient. But to this subject I shall feel it my duty to call the attention of the Committee as soon as I can find leisure, which at present I have not.

I am quite against the stipends. The case is indeed a special case, that is to say a specially bad case. These stipends are mere alms; the conditions for holding them are merely poverty and descent. If it be proper that the members of this family should be pensioned, let them be pensioned. But do not let us mix up these eleemosynary allowances with our system of education. Do not let us discourage the diligent and able student by giving to his fellow students, far inferior to him probably in merit, stipends from which he is excluded by the accident of birth.—[Book O. page 101.] 5th April, 1837.

Prize distribution at the Hindoo College.—I wish to call the attention of the Committee to what passed at the late distribution of prizes to the boys of the Hindoo College. I have several propositions to make respecting that ceremony. At present I only beg Mr. Sutherland to send in circulation our orders about the number of prizes, to inform us whether those orders were communicated to the Managers of the Hindoo College and at what date; and to circulate a statement of the number of prizes given at the late distribution.—[Book K. page 154.] 6th May, 1837.

Prizes given for subjects.—What is meant by a subject? some distinct rule ought to be laid down on that point. But I am quite certain that the number of prizes given at the last distribution was five or six times as great as it would have been if our rule, construed in any manner, had been observed. If I had been consulted I would have given an exceedingly handsome and valuable prize to the first student of the first class. I would have given him, for example, a well bound copy of the Encyclopædia Britannica. To the second I would have given some other valuable book, and I would have given no other prizes. I am satisfied that this course would excite great emulation. As the thing was managed eight or ten students were brought up together and received each a book with-

out distinction. And this is called encouraging them to exertion: as if the sure way to discourage exertion were not to treat eminent merit and mediocrity alike.

I propose that no prizes shall henceforth be given at the Hindoo College without the previous sanction of the Committee. It is idle to pass resolutions if they are to be broken in this way.

The next subject to which I wish to call the attention of the Committee is the exhibition which follows the distribution of prizes. I, like Mr. Sutherland, have no partiality for such ceremonies. I think it a very questionable thing whether, even at home, public spouting and acting ought to form part of the system of a place of education. What can the acting of boys be? At the very best, it can only deserve indulgence. And of what use is that sort of talent to them, even if they should acquire a considerable degree of it? But I think that in this country, such exhibitions are peculiarly out of place. I can conceive nothing more grotesque than the scene from the Merchant of Venice, with Portia represented by a little black boy. Then too I think that the subjects of recitation were ill chosen and offensive to good taste. We are attempting to introduce a great nation to a knowledge of the richest and noblest literature in the world. The society of Calcutta assemble to see what progress we are making; and we produce as a sample a boy who repeats some blackguard doggerel of George Colman's about a fat gentleman who was put to bed over an oven, and about a man-midwife who was called out of his bed by a drunken man at night. Our disciple tries to hiccup, and tumbles and staggers about in imitation of the tipsy English sailors whom he has seen at the punch houses. Really, if we can find nothing better worth reciting than this trash, we had better give up English instruction altogether.

This is strongly my opinion, and not mine only. The Governor General, the Bishop, and other persons whose favorable opinion is of the greatest importance to the success of all schemes of native education, have expressed similar feelings. I would have an entire reform. I propose that, in future, instead of these recitations, the author of the best Essay shall read that Essay aloud after the prizes have been distributed. If this be thought too great a change, I at least hope that the recitations will be of a different kind from what they have hitherto been, that nothing but what is really excellent and valuable as composition will be rehearsed, that vulgar oaths and buffoonery will be carefully excluded, and that the whole exhibition will be less theatrical.—[Book K. page 156.]
10th May, 1837.

Prizes at Benares.—I do not object to what Mr. Sutherland proposes. Indeed I am not averse to giving the whole sum of 60 rupees annually in one prize to a deserving student after open competition.—[Book M. page 155.] 17th October, 1837.

Excessive number of Hindu and Mussalman holidays at Allahabad.—I think the letter a very proper one. As to the practice with respect to holidays, it is an abuse not to be tolerated; and I would use even stronger language about it than Mr. Sutherland has done.—[Book J. page 86.] 16th May, 1836.

Holidays.—This matter of holidays is more serious than I had expected. I would propose that the Secretary should call on the different Local Committees to state the number of days on which the Schools are closed. We must then consider of some general remedy for the evil.—[Book O. page 18.] 3rd June, 1836.

Native Holidays.—I would acquiesce in what the Benares Local Committee propose. As to the Sangor report, I am in the dark as to one very important question. Are the Sundays reckoned among the holidays? If they are, the number is reasonable. If not, the school is shut 126 days in every year, more than one day in three. This would be an abuse which, little as I am disposed to disturb the native usages, where I can avoid it, would call for correction.—[Book K. page 104.] 30th November, 1836.

Native Holidays.—If Mr. Trevelyan proposed to make an immediate and universal change I should altogether dissent from him. But I understand him to propose merely this, that we should tell the Local Committee what the arrangement is, which we think in itself most desirable, and which we would have them keep in view. We must of course pay the greatest respect to the tastes and opinions of the students; and we must allow a very large discretion indeed to the Local Committees. I think that this is sufficiently expressed in the letter drawn by Mr. Trevelyan.—If any gentleman can suggest any addition which would make it clearer, I shall have no objection to adopt that addition.—[Book K. page 113.] 27th December, 1837.

Holidays for Hindus and Mussulmans.—I am inclined to agree with Mr. Sutherland. I do not see how we can allow holidays to half the school boys and keep the rest at work.—[Book K. page 124.] 30th January, 1837.

Meerut School, Financial Statement.—I do not object to what the Local Committee propose. There must be some mistake in the heading of the Financial Statement. It ought surely to be April, 1836.

The appearance of this statement reminds me of a very im-

portant matter. We ought every quarter or every half year at least to receive from every institution at which stipends are given, a return of the number which have become extinct. I propose that instructions to this effect should be sent without delay.—[Book K. page 1.] 10th December, 1835.

State of the Educational Fund.—I am completely in the dark as to the state of our finances. I suppose that the word “disbursements” in Mr. Sutherland’s minute is a slip of the pen, and that he means “income.” Now surely, if our expenditure in the year 1835-36 be less than our income by 7000 Rupees, 7000 Rupees may fairly be called “unappropriated excess;” and Mr. Sutherland himself seems to call it so in the 59th Clause of the proposed letter to Government.

No doubt there are building charges which will come upon us next year. But are those charges greater than the income of next year will meet? If not, will they absorb the whole of this excess of 7000 Rupees? Or how much of it will they absorb? I ask these questions in utter ignorance; and, until I am master of the subject, I shall hardly feel at ease in assenting to any new appropriation of money. We really do not know whether we are beforehand or behind—and with the world.

I should recommend the omission of the computation. I have not yet seen Mr. Trevelyan’s minute respecting a Sub-Committee of finance. But I feel every day more and more fully convinced that some such measure ought to be adopted. Without it we shall be in danger, on the one hand, of making engagements beyond our means, and, on the other, of rejecting as too expensive, schemes which are quite within our power.—[Book J. page 50.] 18th January, 1836.

Audit of Accounts.—I think that Mr. Sutherland should, as he proposes, submit to Government an explanation of the arrear, that he should at the same time explain the mode in which we now check the disbursements; and should state in the name of the Committee that we consider this check as sufficient, leaving it to the Government to adopt any measure which may be thought fit.—[Book O. page 56.] 11th October, 1836.

The Secretary suggested in his abstract of Mr. Adams’ Second Report that Government should be moved to direct the Revenue authorities to enquire whether certain assignments of the Rani Bhowani ought to be revived in favour of the heirs of the original grantees. On this Mr. Macaulay wrote.—

Province of the Committee.—“I doubt whether we are to consider ourselves as occupying a situation similar to that of the Commissioners for Charitable Endowments in England. I doubt

whether it be part of our duty to examine into the manner in which funds bequeathed to private trustees for the support of Brahminical learning are employed. But if the Committee be of a different opinion, I have no objection to send the letter as it has been drafted."—[Book J. page 54.] 11th February, 1835.

Petition for the revival of the English class in the Sanscrit College.—Sixty-three Rupees a month will never set up an efficient English class in the Sanscrit College. That sum would not suffice to pay a teacher of the mere elements of the language.

The spelling and style of the petition taken in connection with the age of the petitioners do not hold out much hope that they will ever become good English scholars. At the same time I cannot but think that it would have been better if the Hindoo College had been opened to them. There seems to be among many people here an objection to admitting grown up men to the advantages of education. On six or seven occasions I have objected to restrictions of this kind, and the Committee has agreed with me. I think that we might with propriety request the Sub-Committee of the Hindoo College to consider whether the rule of the operation of which the petitioners complain ought to be upheld in that institution.—[Book L. page 13.] 15th April, 1836.

Adoption of the Annual Report for 1835 drawn up by Mr. Trevelyan.—I have again gone through the report and read the notes on the margin. Those of Mr. Prinsep are written in an evident spirit of hostility to the principles on which the Committee has been directed by Government to proceed. Most of them, indeed many more than appear to me to require any answer, have been satisfactorily answered by Mr. Trevelyan. The changes which have been made meet almost all the just objections, which either Mr. Prinsep or Mr. Shakespear has urged. One additional change, however, ought, in my opinion, to be made. I doubt the expediency of again sending up to Government at this time a proposition for consolidating different items of account in the manner recommended by the Sub-Committee of finance. As the Government very lately declined sanctioning this proposition, and as nothing which can be supposed likely to have altered the views of the Government has since occurred, I think that we might be considered as importunate if we were to press, without any new grounds, for a reversal of so recent a decision. I am the less inclined to do this, because, though I think the proposed change perfectly unobjectionable, I am not aware that we can expect any advantage from it, except a greater simplicity in the form of

keeping our accounts. I propose therefore to omit the two pages near the end of the report, along which I have drawn a line in ink. I have marked the beginning and the end of what I am inclined to leave out with two asterisks, A and B.

I perceive that Mr. Smith has suggested the appointment of a Sub-Committee for examining the Essays and Translations which may be sent to us from the Schools under our management. To a considerable extent I am inclined to agree with him. This, however, is hardly the proper place for going into that question.

I now give my vote for adopting the report with the amendments which Mr. Trovelyan has made, and with the additional amendment to which I have adverted above.

Mr. Prinsep or any other member is entitled, I conceive, as a matter of right, to demand that any minute of dissent which he may enter in our books, shall be sent up to Government. Whether we shall recommend to Government the printing of such a minute is quite another question, and must depend on the contents of the minute. On that point therefore I cannot at present give an opinion.—[Book J. page 96.] 17th June, 1836.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep's minute on the Annual Report.—I see no objection whatever to sending the minute up to Government. I do not think it necessary to answer any part of it; and I fear that, if we go on replying and rejoining on each other, we shall come to what the lawyers call a sur-rebutter before we finish. Some report we must make; and I do not believe that it will be easy, if we wait till Christmas, to frame any, which shall be less open to objection than that which the members of the Committee, with the exception of Mr. Prinsep, are inclined to adopt.—[Book J. page 106.] 7th July, 1836.

Hinloo College. Rule of Age.—I own that I am not at all satisfied about the propriety of the rule. But I would not insist upon its being rescinded in opposition to the sense of the managers. I think, however, that an exception ought to be made in favour of ex-students of the Sanscrit College. And I would request the managers to consent to that exception. Of course if these students misbehave themselves, the indulgence will be withdrawn.—[Book N. page 27.] 21st June, 1836.

Europeans and Natives to pay the same fees.—I quite agree with the Secretary. All who can afford to pay should pay. If at present nothing is received from natives who are in good circumstances I would make no distinction between them and Europeans.

I would tell the Local Committee that we approve of the principle of requiring pay from those who can afford it; but that we cannot sanction a distinction between Europeans as such and natives as such.—[Book K. page 88.] 28th July 1836.

Dismissal of a Master for beating a boy.—I vote for dismissing Mr. * * * *. The tone of his letter shews that he is not in the least sensible of the gross impropriety of his conduct.—[Book L. page 22.] 9th May, 1836.

Inexpediency of excluding Clergymen from Local Committees.—I do not like general rules for excluding classes of people from our Local Committees. As the people at Dacca recommend Mr. Sheppard, I am disposed to comply, unless something can be urged against him, besides the fact of his being a clergyman.—[Book L. page 23.] 9th May, 1836.

Stipendiaries should pay for their School Books.—I cannot quite agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that to make the stipendiaries pay for books is the same thing with reducing their stipends. I would treat the stipends as property. We have determined that those who have the means shall buy their own books. Whether the means come from a stipend or from an estate, seems to me to be indifferent to the question. Nevertheless, if this matter strikes others differently, I would not commit what might be considered, though in my opinion erroneously, as a breach of faith. I quite agree with the Secretary in thinking that the Delhi indents ought to come to us for sanction.—[Book N. page 24.] 21st June, 1836.

Proposition that boys should buy their school books.—I approve of Mr. Sutherland's propositions. Of course the practice of taking books away must be prevented. The best way of preventing it would be to make the students buy their own books.—[Book M. page 97.] 17th February, 1837.

The expediency of Masters residing in the School House.—I differ from Mr. Sutherland as to the expediency of lodging the Master in the School House. In a climate like this, it will probably make the difference of ten or twelve days' attendance every year. A slight indisposition which would not prevent a person from doing business under his own roof, often renders it inconvenient and dangerous for him to go a mile from home. I am therefore for giving Mr. Nichol apartments in the School House.

The question of his allowances is distinct, and, though he seems to be a valuable teacher, I doubt whether the Local Committee is not too ready to favour him at the expense of our general funds. This will always be the tendency of Local Committees. They think of no School but their own; and

when they have under their own eyes a deserving person, they think that we cannot do too much for him. We, on the other hand, have to superintend many Schools; and cannot be generous in one quarter without depriving ourselves of the means of being just in another. I would leave Mr. Nichol only half his present allowance for house rent; and in doing so I think that I am erring, if at all, on the side of liberality.—[Book O. page 26th.] 12th July, 1836.

Mode of selecting Monitors.—Mr. Hamilton does not explain how the monitorial offices are to be given, or what is to be the test of the merit by which they are to be retained. I would make them depend on the yearly examinations.—[Book O. page 27th.] 13th July, 1836.

The essential importance of imparting instruction in the Vernacular languages at English Schools.—The teaching of Persian is out of the question. The teaching of Hindee is another matter. As I understand the orders of Government, they leave us perfectly at liberty to provide the pupils in our schools with the means of learning to read and write their own mother tongue. In fact their knowing how to read and write their own mother tongue will very greatly facilitate their English studies. Indeed I conceive that an order to give instruction in the English language is, by necessary implication, an order to give instruction, where that instruction is required, in the vernacular language. For what is meant by teaching a boy a foreign language? surely this, the teaching him what words in the foreign language correspond to certain words in his own vernacular language, the enabling him to translate from the foreign language into his own vernacular language and *vice versa*. We learn one language—our mother tongue—by noticing the correspondence between words and things. But all the languages which we afterwards study, we learn by noticing the correspondence between the words in those languages and the words in our own mother tongue. The teaching the boys at Ajmere therefore to read and write Hindee seems to me to be *bonâ fide* a part of an English education. To teach them Persian, would be to set up a rival, and as I apprehend, a very unworthy rival, to the English language.

I vote for granting what is asked as to the Hindee. For the Persian I would do nothing.—[Book O. page 30.] 3rd July, 1836.

Ornamented certificates at Delhi.—I should like to see the plan before I decide. My own impression is strongly in favour of giving money. You may easily give honorary distinctions which cost nothing at all; and why you should sink money in giving such distinctions, when you may give them just gratis,

I do not understand. A certificate on paper signed by the members of our Committee to the effect that a particular student has written a good Essay, is as honorable a distinction as a medal worth 100 Rupees. If you give the student the medal, he has nothing but the honor. If you give him a certificate and the price of the medal, he has the honor and the hundred rupees into the bargain. We ought to employ both money and honor to stimulate the students, and to lay out money in buying costly decorations which derive all their value from the honor which they confer, and would be just as valuable if they cost nothing, seems to me to be a waste of means.—[Book N. page 28.] 2nd July, 1836.

It has been considered desirable to omit the minute which originally occupied this space.

H. W.

Mistaken interference by Professor Wilson in the home sales of the Committee's publications.—I really think this proceeding a most extraordinary one: that tradesmen should make over the property of one set of persons to another on no better authority than an article in a magazine, is inconceivable. I would do nothing till we hear from Messrs. Parbury and Allen, who will I suppose have something to say in explanation of their proceedings. As to sanctioning the sales which have taken place on the continuation of the new rates, how can we possibly do that till we know what the rates are? All that we know about the business as yet is, that a gentleman who is writing against us in the magazines at home, has been able to find leisure from that employment to take possession, without the slightest authority, of our property, and to prescribe the terms on which it shall be sold. I should propose that the Secretary should write immediately to Parbury and Allen to ask for a full explanation.—[Book O. page 49.] 24th September, 1836.

The Committee's stock of books in London.—The London book-sellers have treated us in a most extraordinary way. I propose that we write to inform them that Professor Wilson is not our agent, and that we expect to hear directly from themselves what they have done with our property.—[Book M. page 143.] 2nd September, 1837.

Mr. Pereira, Head-Master of the Furruckabad School, proposes to exclude books on English Grammar from the School course. Macaulay concurs.—I certainly would not approve of Mr. Pereira's suggestions respecting the exclusion of poor students, or the taking of recognizances from those who come to us for education. As to the question respecting Grammar, I would let him take his own way. I am no great believer myself in the advantages which are ordinarily attributed to a knowledge of the theory of Grammar. This indent may I think, be complied with.—[Book L. page 75.] 23rd November, 1836.

Encouragement of Vernacular Literature.—I do not believe that any language was ever refined or any literature ever created by any means resembling those which our Committee has at its disposal. Languages grow. They cannot be built. I should be glad to furnish these Schools with good Hindee books if there are any. But to create a Hindee literature is an undertaking far beyond our power.

We might send an extract from this letter to the School Book Society and ask if they have, or are likely to have, any books that would be of use.—[Book O. page 63.] 25th November, 1836.

The promotion of Vernacular Literature.—I am and always

have been decidedly opposed to the plan to which Mr. Sutherland wishes us to return. We are now following in my opinion the slow but sure course on which alone we can depend for a supply of good books in the Vernacular languages of India. We are attempting to raise up a large class of enlightened natives. I hope that twenty years hence there will be hundreds, nay thousands, of natives familiar with the best models of composition, and well acquainted with western science. Among them some persons will be found who will have the inclination and the ability to exhibit European knowledge in the Vernacular dialects. This, I believe, to be the only way in which we can raise up a good Vernacular literature in this country. To hire four or five people to make a literature, is a course which never answered and never will answer in any part of the world. Such undertakings have every where a tendency to become jobs, and that tendency is peculiarly to be dreaded in the present instance. For one half of the Committee do not know a letter of the language in which the books are to be written; and the other half are too busy to pay any minute attention to the way in which the translators perform their task.—[Book M. page 140.] 30th August, 1837.

Pensions.—I really cannot agree to this proposal. I have a high opinion of Mr. Hare. But the practice of granting pensions to Englishmen residing in India and not engaged in the service of Government would be pregnant with all sorts of abuses. All that the Government could do would be to recommend Mr. Hare to the Court of Directors for a pension; and it is my firm belief that the Government will not so recommend him, and that, if they do, the Court of Directors will not attend to the recommendation.

I did not notice the passage in the Report which has led to this correspondence with Government, or I should have objected to it, as certain to place both ourselves and a very deserving man in a very awkward position. I shall be heartily glad if any gentleman can think of any proper mode in which we can mark our respect for Mr. Hare. At the present moment none occurs to me.—[Book J. page 121.] September, 1836.

Pension to the Family of Moulvie Soleyman of the Hooghly College.—I voted in the Sub-Committee and still vote, though with regret, against what the Secretary recommends. If we once begin to pension the families of our School-masters, I do not know where we shall stop. We shall give a distinct encouragement to every young Englishman and East Indian who takes service under us to marry without having the means of providing for a family, and to spend all his salary instead of laying by.

If I could see any reason for being liberal in this case which would not be found in a very large number of cases, my opinion might be different.—[Book N. page 99.] 8th June, 1837.

Pension to the Family of Moulvie Soleyman of the Hooghly College.—I understood the Committee to have voted against the proposition in favour of Mahomed Soleyman's family. What is now proposed is, except as a precedent, unobjectionable: and I will not, as several members seem very desirous to do something for these people, refuse to refer the question to Government.—[Book N. page 169.] 30th November, 1837.

Promotion in the Educational Department.—I would certainly hold out nothing like a promise. Whoever takes office under us ought to take it with the knowledge that we bind ourselves to nothing as to promotion.—[Book L. page 117.] 5th May, 1837.

Infant Schools.—I do not think that it would be expedient for us to employ any of our funds in the manner proposed. As to employing the Agency of the Infant School Society the fact that the Society gives religious instruction is alone sufficient to render such a course objectionable.

In England no person of the higher or middle classes—no person who is in a situation to give his children a liberal education, ever—to the best of my belief, sends a child to the Infant School. The use of such institutions is to provide a place where the children of the poor may be safe, cheerful, and harmlessly, if not profitably, employed while their parents are at work. What they learn, I imagine, is not much. But instead of being locked up in close rooms or abandoned to the society of all the idle boys in the street, they play, and pick up a little smattering of knowledge, under a very gentle discipline, which is yet sufficient to keep them out of harm's way.

This is, I believe, a correct account of the Infant Schools of England. We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We have not funds for such an undertaking. We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge which we have imparted to them. I should consider it therefore as quite inconsistent with our whole plan to set up an Infant School resembling those of England, an Infant School for the children of coolies and tailors. And before I listen to any proposal for establishing an Infant School of a higher kind, I should be glad to know whether respectable Hindoo and Mahomedan parents would be inclined to send their young children just beginning to walk and talk from under their own roof. I am most friendly to Infant Schools

in cases in which the mother is unable to look after her children. It is infinitely better that the little things should be romping innocently or learning A. B. C. under the eye of a respectable, good humoured master or mistress, than that they should be shut up all day alone in miserable garrets or be allowed to wander about the streets. But I cannot bring myself to think that where it is in the mother's power to devote herself to the care of her family, very young children can be placed any where so fitly as under their mother's care. The relation of parent and child is the foundation of all society. It is fit that where the parent is unable fully to perform the parental duties, the charity of individuals and perhaps in some circumstances the wisdom of the Government should supply what is wanting. But to break without necessity the closest of all ties, to substitute the School-master for the mother as the guardian of an infant hardly able to lisp; and that too, when the mother has the leisure and the means to perform what all over the world is considered as her sacred and peculiar duty, is not in my opinion a wise course.

I should be glad to know whether our native friends are of opinion that such an institution as that which is recommended would be favorably regarded by the most respectable of their countrymen.—[Book L. page 131.] 31st July, 1837.

Infant Schools.—My opinion is quite unaltered. If the very utmost for which Mr. Trevelyan and Captain Birch contend were admitted, I should still think that the establishing of Infant Schools is no business of ours. Captain Birch distinctly says that he would have us establish infant schools, if none but the poor were likely to frequent them. This is a complete departure from our whole plan. Our principle is to give a liberal education to persons in such a rank of life that they have leisure to receive it; and I never can consent to employ any part of the fund devoted to that purpose in keeping the infants of coolies out of harm's way, while their parents are at work. The object may be good. The intentions of those who promote it, doubtless are so. But it is no object for us. The Fever Hospital is good and the District Society is good. But neither has the smallest claim on the funds appropriated for public instruction.

I altogether differ from Mr. Trevelyan in thinking that we ought to try whether the higher classes will send their children to infant schools by setting up an infant school. I cannot admit that it is only in this way that the experiment can be tried. There is an Infant School Society. Let us ask them from what class of the population the children who frequent their schools come.

As to the corrupting influence of the zenana, of which Mr. Trevelyan speaks, I may regret it. But I own that I cannot help thinking that the dissolution of the tie between parent and child is as great a moral evil as can be found in any zenana. In whatever degree then infant schools relax that tie, they do mischief. In whatever degree they leave the child to the care of its family, the corrupting influence of the zenana continues. There is a great deal of moral corruption which we pass by as quite harmless, because it does not shock our sense of decorum. For my own part I would rather hear a boy of three years old lisp all the bad words in the language than that he should have no feelings of family affection—that his character should be that which must be expected in one who has had the misfortune of having a school master in place of a mother.

In any case we cannot possibly adopt Mr. Trevelyan's proposition without a reference to Government. Neither in the Act of Parliament, nor in any of the instructions which we have received from Government, is there any expression which can be twisted into a permission to set up schools of this sort. We might as well give our funds to a riding school.—[Book L. page 151.] 10th August, 1837.

Encouragement to the Vernacular Language in schools as it has been encouraged in the Courts.—I agree with the Secretary, except that I think that it would be premature to ground any circular on a draft which is only published for general information, and which may never be passed, or may be passed with modifications.—[Book L. page 179.] 15th September, 1837.

The amount of knowledge of the Vernacular language to be required from English Masters.—I agree. But I think that it is quite necessary to bear in mind that the accurate knowledge of the vernacular language, though desirable, is by no means an indispensable qualification for a teacher of English. Many of the Committee probably learned French, I did for one, from a master who had only just such a smattering of English as enabled him to call for what he wanted.—I should be glad if all our masters could pass Mr. Trevelyan's examination. But the third point as to which he proposes that they should be examined seems to me the most important by far; and I am half inclined to recommend the omission of the second. Certainly I should not think it desirable that an English Master who can communicate with his scholars so as to be understood should spend much of his time in learning to write Bengali or Hindoostanee.

I think also that Mr. Trevelyan a little overrates the importance of accustoming pupils to explain every English word accurately in their own language. This is the way in which mere be-

ginners proceed. But, after a certain time, it is not a good way of proceeding. To think in the language which we learn is the great object. A good French scholar never translates in his mind, he thinks in French. And I have no doubt that our native pupils who speak and write English best think in English, and would often be utterly unable to turn into Bengali a sentence of Locke or Hume which they understand as well as we do. I have suggested a slight alteration in pencil.—[Book L. page 202.] 12th December, 1837.

The Supreme Government request advice as to the best means of promoting instruction in Civil Engineering.—I am rather inclined to think that the best course would be to establish a school of Engineering and Surveying at Calcutta. It might be formed on a plan somewhat similar to that of the Medical College; though at a smaller expense. I should think it pernicious to connect it with the Hindu College, because the Hindu College admits only Hindus and is closed against Mahomedans, East Indians, Europeans, Parsees, and other classes. I would follow as nearly as possible the pattern of the Medical College, except that I would give no stipends. Young men now study medicine at the Medical College, while their general education is still going on at the Hindu College. The first student at the Hindu College was a favorite pupil of Dr. Baily. In the same manner, young men may attend the school of Surveying and Civil Engineering while they are still studying at the Hindu College or at the Madrasa.

I would also institute a class of students of Surveying and Civil Engineering at the Hooghly College, as the funds will afford it. This is all that now occurs to me.—[Book O. page 113.] 19th May, 1837.

Surveying.—I have every disposition to encourage Surveying, but I cannot consent to make it obligatory on every student of the higher classes at the Hindu College that he shall qualify himself to be a Surveyor, I think that the right course is to give a good general education and to make it obligatory on the students to attend to those pursuits without which they cannot be good surveyors, good physicians or good judges. But I would no more require them all to learn surveying, than I would require them all to learn physic or to learn law. The best student at the Hindu College is also a distinguished student at the Medical College. Would it be reasonable to require him to study surveying as well as medicine?

A certain knowledge of mathematics is an essential part of a liberal education. But expertness in surveying land is of little use to a person who is to be a physician or a vakeel. And the only effect of our compelling a Medical student to practice

surveying would probably be, that we should make him a very indifferent physician and a very indifferent surveyor.—[Book O. page 127.] 8th July, 1837.

Surveying.—I do not object to the proposed letter. My opinion is that if the Government will provide a good instructor or instructors, a proper apparatus and a place for meeting, a large surveying class will soon be formed. I think this a much better course than to connect the study of surveying with the existing schools. Such a general surveying class as I spoke of would include the Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians. If we form a surveying class at the Hindu College, that class will contain only Hindoos. If we form one at the Madrasa it will contain only Mahomedans. The expense of forming a really good surveying class at either of those institutions would probably be nearly as great as the expense of forming a class such as I propose, which would include students of all races and religions.—[Book O. page 131.] 21st July, 1837.

Application for a Mastership.—Mr. ——— seems indeed to be so little concerned about proselytising, that he does not even know how to spell the word, a circumstance which, if I did not suppose it to be a slip of the pen, I should think a more serious objection than the Reverend which formerly stood before his name. I am quite content with his assurances.—[Book M. page 144.] 2nd September, 1837.

School library available to the public.—I would allow strangers to take books under such regulations as may protect the interest of the school which is the first object, but I would in all such cases require a payment to be applied to the purpose of buying fresh books.—[Book O. page 136.] 8th August, 1837.

Proposed increase of the Secretary's Salary.—Mr. Sutherland states very correctly that of late his duties have increased, and no addition has been made to the salary of his office. But after considering the whole subject with a most sincere desire to do justice both to our Secretary and to the public, I cannot say that I should feel myself justified in proposing an increase. The question of course is to be considered not merely as it affects an existing incumbent, but generally. For it is much easier to keep a salary down than to cut it down when it has been increased. The real point to be determined is whether, in the existing state of the demand and supply of intellectual labour in India, 500 Rupees a month and a house, (for that I think is the present remuneration of our Secretary) be sufficient to procure good and efficient services.

It is to be remembered that the business of our Secretary by no means occupies the whole of the principal part of the time

which an industrious man is able to devote to business. Mr. Sutherland, as we all know, finds it possible to unite the discharge of his duties as Secretary with other very laborious pursuits. I should imagine from what I see of the business that it would not require, on an average, two hours a day. And the business differs from the business of a public officer of a Court of law, in this very important circumstance, that it is business for which a man can chuse (*sic*) his time. Mr. Prinsep must be at Council at eleven on Wednesday. The Chief Justice must be in Court on a certain day at a certain hour. Mr. Trevelyan must attend the Board of Revenue regularly for a certain time. But the Secretary of the Education Committee can chuse his own day and hour for doing his work,—can, if he pleases transact it before breakfast, or keep it for the evening, clear it off day by day, or suffer it to accumulate during a few days, while he is engaged with other business and then clear it off by giving one uninterrupted morning to it.

Considering these things, and considering that the salary of our Secretary and the other advantages which he has amount very nearly to the pay of a Chaplain of the Company, I can hardly think that an increase is necessary. I am inclined to think that many qualified men both in the Civil and Military Services, would be heartily glad to obtain such an addition to their incomes, and would find it possible to spare from their other avocations time sufficient for the proper performance of the duties.

I fully admit the value of Mr. Sutherland's services as an examiner; and I admit also that it is a description of work which requires skill and knowledge. But the salary, as now fixed, would be immoderately high, if it were paid for any but a very high description of labour. It is only because literary and scientific acquirements are required in our Secretary, that his remuneration is so large as it is. For if drafting letters of business and keeping our accounts were all that we require, we might certainly have those duties well performed for a smaller salary by a very inferior person.

If my colleagues differ from me, I shall have real pleasure in seeing myself out voted.

But, as at present advised, I shall not think myself justified in recommending any change.

I approve of what is proposed as to the establishment of new Schools.—*[Book O. page 139.] 18th August, 1837.

* [Besides being Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, Mr. Sutherland was also Secretary to the Law Commission, which was his principal appointment.—H. W.]

The Secretary's duties.—I shall be truly glad to join with Sir Benjamin Malkin in doing any thing in my power which may serve to lighten the Secretary's labours.—[Book O. page 153.] 18th August, 1837.

Masters of schools ought not to be the Secretaries of Local Committees.—I agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that the master ought not to be Secretary, if anybody else can be found.—[Book O. page 137.] 8th August, 1837.

Donations for prizes.—I think that it is always best, as the proverb says, not to look a gift horse in the mouth. I would let the donation be invested, and the interest expended in the manner proposed, subject always to our general rules as to the number of prizes; rules which, as they were framed not on grounds of economy, but with a view to the greater efficiency of our system of education, ought not to be infringed merely because our friends are willing to bear the expense of infringing them.—[Book P. page 36.] 4th August, 1837.

The employment of educated natives.—This is a most important question, and surrounded with difficulties on every side. I have thought much about it; and can come to no conclusion satisfactory to my own mind. I very much wish that Mr. Shakespeare, and other gentlemen practically acquainted with the working of the existing system would give their opinions first. My opinion, such as it is, is altogether founded on general reasonings, and on what I have seen in a state of society very different from that which exists in India.—[Book O. page 166.] 4th November, 1837.

The employment of educated natives.—I vote for Mr. Man- gles's proposal, as modified by Mr. Bird's suggestion.

I should, I own, greatly dislike any plan which gave to our pupils a monopoly of public employments, or which tended to separate them from the body of their countrymen. The education which they receive necessarily has, to a considerable degree, this latter tendency; and this is a set off against the advantages of that education. We mean these youths to be conductors of knowledge to the people, and it is of no use to fill the conductors with knowledge at one end, if you separate them from the people at the other.

It is absolutely necessary that these young men, should, to a certain degree, be estranged from their countrymen by the mode in which they are brought up. It is impossible, but that this estrangement should produce the effects which Mr. Shakespeare points out, and which we all admit. We should I fear, increase the evil if on emerging from their schools they are regularly admitted into situations carefully reserved for them alone, into situations for which none of their countrymen are

suffered even to be candidates. But it does not appear to me that Mr. Mangles's proposition modified as Mr. Bird suggests, is open to this objection. I therefore am disposed to adopt it.

As to jobbing and favouritism, I defy any human being to shew any manner in which this system can possibly tend to increase jobbing or favouritism. The objections to it are of quite a different kind. It has no tendency whatever to enable men in power to promote unfit candidates for office. The danger is that it may prevent men in power from promoting people whom they know to be deserving, but who have not the prescribed diploma. It is a check on the freedom of the dispensers of patronage, and like all such checks, tends to render favouritism more difficult. It is in this respect analogous to the rules which limit the amount of salary to be drawn by young Civil Servants, and the number of officers who may be taken from duty with a regiment, for staff employment. These rules may be good or bad, but every body knows that they render it much more difficult than it would otherwise be for a Governor to gratify his favourites.

It is true that, under the proposed system, favouritism and jobbing may still be practised,—if there should be collusion between the dispensers of patronage and the examiners. But in the first place it is in the highest degree improbable that there will be such collusion. In the next place, if there should be such collusion in every case, we still shall be only where we now are. The worst that can happen will be that unfit men will be appointed after a pretended examination. Under the present system they may be appointed without any examination at all.

When I express my assent to Mr. Mangles's proposition, I do not mean that I agree with him in thinking that lectures on Jurisprudence and Political Economy ought to be instituted at our great schools. It may be very true that elementary knowledge is better than no knowledge. But the danger is that what may be taught may be not elementary truth, but positive error. Elementary knowledge in reading may be taught by a very ignorant person. A and B, are written and pronounced in the same way by the most learned scholar and by the most foolish old woman. It is the same with the elements of Arithmetic. A very inferior man may be able to teach addition and multiplication as well as Sir Isaac Newton. But I do not see that there is any thing in such sciences as Political Economy and Jurisprudence which is analogous to the horn-book and the multiplication table. The greatest men who have written on those sciences are at variance about the very first principles. It is rather amusing and may be useful to observe that Mr.

Mangles selects a particular proposition as an instance of the very important truths which Political Economy will teach. Colonel Young strongly seconds the proposal for teaching Political Economy, but declares, that, as soon as the boys understand Political Economy they will perceive the fallacy of the very proposition which, as Mr. Mangles thinks, is one of the most certain truths in Political Economy. Now it is clear that we are not at all likely to have at any out-station, or indeed at Calcutta, so good a teacher of Political Economy as either of our friends, one of whom must necessarily be in the wrong on a question admitted to be of the highest moment. It is therefore to be expected that any teachers whom we may employ will often teach wrong doctrines on questions of the highest moment. Is it desirable to employ teachers for this purpose? Would Mr. Mangles himself like to have thirty gentlemen preaching Colonel Young's doctrines to our pupils? Or does he think that our School-masters are likely to be better teachers than Colonel Young? I might ask Colonel Young the same questions about Mr. Mangles. I am for leaving these subjects alone, not because I think ignorance better than a little knowledge, but because I think ignorance better than error.—[Book O. page 198.] 30th December, 1837.

**College Examinations.*—I will examine. But I fear that I shall not be here long enough to see the essays, which will be sent in some time later. I should be glad to be spared till after Christmas day, as I am much employed in the mornings at present.

As to the examination at Hooghly, I should think Mr. Marshman perfectly qualified to examine, and the proposed remuneration seems reasonable.—[Book P. page 55.] 5th December, 1837.

Mr. Bird's accession to the Committee.—Mr. Bird's services would be valuable in any Sub-Committee. I had intended to propose him as a member of the Sub-Committee of finance. But I do not see why we might not add him to both. At present he belongs to none.—[Book L. page 196.] 23rd November, 1837.

Establishment of new schools.—Bareilly and Furruckabad would seem to be better entitled to attention than any of the other places which have applied. I would propose that schools should be established there and that the Sub-Committee for the choice of School-masters should be requested to select teachers. I think 300 Rupees each should be the maximum.

* At the end of the Session of 1837, the examiners of the Hindu College were C. E. Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, H. Shakespear, E. Mangles, Sir E. Ryan, and E. S. H. Birch.—H. W.

I cannot depend much on my own judgment as to what remains to be done. But I doubt whether Sabathoo be a place of sufficient importance. I have made a proposition elsewhere about Schorc. On the whole I think that Rajshahai has as fair a claim as any district: I would propose that a school be established there, and that a master be selected by the Sub-committee. Two hundred and fifty rupees a month ought, I think, to be the maximum expense of this school.

We shall then have at least 650 Rs. left at our disposal, and I am inclined to think that we cannot employ this sum to more advantage than by founding a school at Ajmere. That is, I think, the most important place within the sphere of our operations for which nothing has yet been done.

A head master and an Assistant would be required at Ajmere. We might therefore authorize the Sub-Committee to go as far as 450 Rs. for both. It ought to be definitely understood that all contracts with us are to be in Company's rupees.

The suggestions of the Sub-Committee seem to me to be generally deserving of adoption.—[Book K. page 32.] 26th February, 1836.

Exclusion of boys of low parentage at Bhagulpore.—I do not understand why the number of pupils of low country parentage should be limited in the manner described in the 4th paragraph of the letter of the Local Committee. No such distinctions ought to be tolerated in any School supported by us.—[Book K. page 25.] 11th February, 1836.

Hill school at Bhagulpore.—The account may require time. But the estimate of what will be wanted for the future may surely be made at once. I should imagine that one English teacher of the lowest class that we employ and one teacher of the Vernacular language would suffice. A hundred and fifty rupees would I think be the maximum that we should ask.—[Book N. page 44.] 24th August, 1836.

Bhagulpore Hill school.—That this school is at present absolutely useless, and that we might as well throw our 300 Rs. a month into the Hooghly, seems clear.

Nothing but a thorough recasting of the whole can do any good; and I have some doubts as to our competency to make so extensive a change without a previous reference to the Government. I should recommend that we should apply to Government for authority to deal with this school in whatever manner may seem to us most likely to improve it. When we have obtained this permission, we may proceed to make new arrangements.—[Book M. page 83.] 30th December, 1836.

Bhagulpore school for the Hill Tribes.—I see no reason for giving an opinion. Indeed my own opinion, if I were considering the question merely as a question of education, would be, that there were many places where schools might be more beneficially established. The Hill school is maintained on political grounds, of which we are not to judge. I would forward the application without comment.—[Book L. page 197.] 24th November, 1837.

The Master of Bhagulpore English School resigns, because he cannot get a house.—This is exceedingly vexatious. I should be inclined to advise the building of a School-house with rooms for the master as speedily as possible. We determined to lay out 50,000 Rupees which lately came into our hands as a wind-fall in this way. And there can be no stronger case.—[Book N. page 95.] 24th May, 1837.

Bhagulpore English School.—The questions raised by this minute of the Secretary are so closely connected with the statement which we may expect to receive immediately from the Sub-Committee of Finance, that it would perhaps be the most regular course to let the whole lie over, till we receive that statement. As, however, the discussion has been opened, I will give my opinion.

I must premise that we have at our disposal a monthly surplus of more than 900 Rupees.

I am very much disposed immediately to set up a school at Bhagulpore, and to desire Mr. Ridge to remain there. Mr. Brown should also be proposed to Government for the Local Committee. There are strong reasons for establishing schools by preference at stations where we can reckon on the cordial co-operation of important functionaries: and this seems to be the case at Bhagulpore.—[Book N. page 118.] 2nd August, 1837.

Delli College.—I am as little disposed as Mr. Sutherland to expect much from the arrangements which have been made at Delli. I have no confidence in Mr. Taylor's co-operation, and should be glad to be rid of him altogether. But this is impossible. If he is to remain in our employment, and if his son is to be head master, I think that what has been proposed, and what I understood to be resolved upon, is as good an arrangement as we can make. At all events I think that Mr. Ridge will, at the present moment, be more useful at Bhagulpore than any where else; and Mr. Pereira can remain for the present at Futtighur.

I am decidedly favorable to the proposition for establishing a school at Azinghur. The arrangements about the master properly belong to the Sub-Committee for School-masters.

I am less eager about Arrah, though I cannot agree with Mr. Sutherland that we ought to do nothing at a place, because we find that the friends of education are already doing something there from their private means. As Mr. Dent says that Mr. Macleod the master, who appears from his letter to be a person of respectable qualifications, is well known to some members of our Committee, I should be glad to learn what they think of him.

I defer making any proposition about the disposal of the rest of our surplus, till the financial statement comes before us, which I hope will be very soon.—[Book N. page 118.] 2nd August, 1837.

Payment of the alleged arrears of the personal allowance of the Saugur School Pundit.—I cannot quite agree with Mr. Trevelyan. Whether the personal allowance made to Kessen Rao was too great or not, was a question to be considered when it was determined. To give it him,* to omit paying it, and then to tell him that we do not mean to pay arrears because the sum is so large, seems to me a very slovenly and not a very fair mode of proceeding. If his allowance is to be reduced, let it be reduced prospectively, not, as Mr. Trevelyan proposes, retrospectively. The arrears are a debt and cannot be withheld. What is to come may perhaps be under our control.

I agree with Mr. Trevelyan's other propositions.—[Book K. page 22.] 30th January, 1836.

Saugur School.—If the Saugur fund will not pay the whole of Guru Churn Mitra's salary, the deficiency must be made up out of our general fund. Any thing is better than to keep him at Benares doing nothing. If the Saugur Fund can afford him only 75 Rs. we shall have 50 Rs. a month to pay. And this is both a cheaper and better arrangement than to give him, as we now do, 100 Rs. a month without any equivalent.—[Book K. page 48.] 8th March, 1836.

Saugur School.—I do not very much like either Mr. Shore's plan or Mr. Sutherland's. If we are to lay out upwards of 400 Rupees a month at Saugur, I should think that our best course would be to send thither a master competent to give a really good English education, and to allow him 250 Rupees a month. This is the course which we have followed at Patna, Dacca, and other places: nor do I see why Saugur should be placed under a different system. We shall expend on that district a sum as large as would support one of our best Schools; and

* Mr. Trevelyan explains that the increase of salary was promised on the condition that the Pundit should serve in the proposed English School. The English School was not opened so soon as it was expected, and therefore the increase was not earned.—H. W.

we shall, under either of the systems now proposed, give only a second rate or third rate education. For as to Kishen Rao, though a deserving man, he is quite incompetent to supply the place of such a person as Mr. Clift or Mr. Nicholls; and I am rather afraid that the notice taken of his exertions by Government, though honorable to Lord William Bentinck, and likely to produce indirectly many useful effects, has made him conceited and captious.

If it be determined to adopt one of the two plans before us, I am inclined to prefer Mr. Shore's to Mr. Sutherland's. I quite agree with Mr. Sutherland that we ought not to fritter away our means on feeble institutions. But the institution now proposed will be feeble, whichever plan we adopt. I think it better to have three feeble institutions than one, the cost being the same. I see no great reason to expect more good from the Saugur School, if organized on Mr. Sutherland's plan at an expense of 418 Rupees, than if organized on Mr. Shore's plan at an expense of 215 Rupees.—[Book M. page 16.] 8th April, 1836.

Masters for Saugur School.—I am willing to leave the masters for the present to the Local Committee. But I should direct them to be instructed to report how many hours the Deputy English master attends. A man who takes from us a small salary merely to eke out his income is very likely to make his place a sinecure.—[Book O. page 45.] 17th August, 1836.

Saugur School.—I will try to see Mr. Shore, and to learn what is the best course open to us respecting the Saugur School. In the meantime Mr. Singer can be asked whether he will take the situation, if it should be offered him on the terms mentioned by Mr. Sutherland. Mr. Trevelyan tells me that he has seen Mr. Shore, who says that they are in great want of a master at Saugur. We had better therefore make the proposition at once to Mr. Singer.—[Book L. page 107.] 25th March, 1837.

Saugur School.—We have been long looking out for a master for this School, and have been unable to find one who would suit us. At last we have made a choice which seems to be unexceptionable: and I would abide by it. We shall not be able to get a tolerable teacher on a smaller salary.

I recommend that the arrangements about Mr. Rae should be hastened as much as possible. We have lost too much time already.—[Book M. page 114.] 8th May, 1837.

Saugur Local Committee.—I conceive that the appointment of Captain Murray requires our sanction, though we are not asked to give it. The matter is a trifle. But we must not relinquish our control over the Local Committee. We may bring this with all delicacy to the notice of Mr. Shore, and

may at the same time approve of Captain Murray's appointment. On second thoughts, I recollect that the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, as well as ours, is necessary to Captain Murray's appointment. We had better apply for that sanction.—[Book M. page 50.] 8th July, 1836.

Local Subscriptions towards the salary of a Head Master.—I should prefer a different course. Suppose that we offer to pay half the salary of an English Master, if the other half can be raised by subscription in Sehoré or the neighbourhood of it. I have the greatest respect for Mr. Wilkinson; but I am not sure that his opinions quite agree with those which we entertain respecting the mode of educating the natives; and I think therefore that we ought strictly to tie up whatever we may vote.—[Book J. page 57.] 25th February, 1836.

An English School in Bundelcund.—Bundelcund has considerable claims. But before we decide, we had better communicate with some person there,—Mr. Simon Fraser for instance. We might ask that gentleman whether a school for teaching both English and the Vernacular languages would be likely to succeed.—[Book N. page 26.] 21st June, 1836.

Jubbulpore School.—I think that at all events the rule about the exclusion from the English class of boys who cannot read the Vernacular language ought to have been submitted to us. What right the Hon'ble Agent, as the master calls him, had to give any such express order, I do not understand.—[Book N. page 72.] 18th March, 1837.

A Grant-in-Aid Subathoo School.—I would not return a positive refusal. Our funds will increase every six months by the falling in of stipends, and in a very short time, if not immediately, it will be in our power to do something for the school at Subathoo.—[Book K. page 6.] 26th December, 1835.

A diplomatic letter about Meerut School.—I hardly see what we can do more about Mr. Blunt. I shall be glad if Mr. Sutherland can frame a letter in the true diplomatic style, which shall mean very little, and shall appear to mean a great deal.

As to the school-house, I think that we may venture to ask Government to let us have the premises rent-free till they are wanted for the public service. At worst, we can only draw on ourselves a refusal.—[Book M. page 1.] 27th February, 1836.

Salaries at Meerut School.—I greatly doubt whether we can obtain a good master for 200 Rupees; and I should like to know more about Mr. Harris before I consent to secure his services by diminishing the salary of the person at the head of the school. I propose that the question should be referred to the Sub-Committee for the selection of School-masters, but that

the Sub-Committee should be instructed to make no arrangement which may cause an increase of charge, without a reference to the General Committee.—[Book O. page 15.] 9th June, 1836.

Meerut School Examination.—Highly satisfactory. I see the Local Committee ask for a Master in the Vernacular language. I would allow them one, and let them chuse (*sic*) him. I should be obliged to any gentleman acquainted with that part of the country, who would suggest what he thinks would be a reasonable salary.—[Book K. page 121.] 30th January, 1837.

The Meerut Committee suspend Mr. Halford for causing two European boys to be punished.—I would instantly expel the offending boys. I must own that I think Mr. Halford's conduct by no means inexcusable. If any power of correction at all be given to a master, this is one of the cases in which the exercise of that power seems to be justifiable. If the Local Committee think that the transaction is likely to make Mr. Halford's services less useful at Meerut, I would find another situation for him. But I really do not think that what has passed, is morally discreditable to him: nay, I do not think that it ought to lead us to pronounce him an indiscreet person.—[Book N. page 91.] 15th May, 1837.

Transfer of Masters from one place to another.—I do not very strongly object to Mr. Sutherland's proposition about this difficult matter. But I cannot help feeling that we are a little too indulgent to the whims of the people in our employ. We pay a large sum to send a master to an up-country station. He dislikes the place. The Collector is uncivil; the Surgeon quarrels with him; and he must be moved. The expenses of another journey have to be defrayed. Another man is to be transferred from a place where he is comfortable and useful. Thus we have a collection of rolling-stones which, as the proverb says, gather no moss. Our masters run from station to station at our cost, as vapourish ladies at home run about from spa to spa. It is desirable to make a stand. It does not much matter whether we make it on this occasion. But it must speedily be made. All situations have their discomforts: and there are times when we all wish that our lot had been cast in some other line of life or in some other place. But necessity forces people to make the best of what they have got; and they become contented because it is of no use to them to be otherwise. I fear that we encourage our masters to be capricious and fastidious; and I think that we should be wiser if we were a little more hard masters.

Now would Mr. Pereira like the change? His taste surely ought to be consulted as much as Mr. Halford's.

On the whole I am rather for leaving Mr. Halford where he is. As to the other points, I agree with the Secretary.—[Book M. page 131.] 29th August, 1837.

Furruckabad School. I would not give up the school; and, in order to give our experiment there a fair chance of success I would authorize the Local Committee to procure, if they can, another school-house. But I cannot consent to send an assistant to a school where there are only 34 pupils. As to salary to Dr. Tytler it is out of the question. But we may send him books as Mr. Sutherland suggests.—[Book M. page 157.] 17th October, 1837.

Dr. Login's proposal to assist some schools in the Deccan.—I fear not. The schools, two of them at least, for I cannot make out the name of the third station, are out of the Company's territories. It also appears that religious instruction is imparted: and whatever disposition we may feel to assist such efforts in our individual capacity, we cannot have any thing to do with them as agents for the Government.—[Book L. page 14.] 15th April, 1836.

Patna School expends money without sanction.—I do not think the explanation quite satisfactory. But as the Local Committee meant well,—as they have a good right to our confidence; as it would be inexpedient to discourage them, placed as they are in perhaps the most discouraging situation in Bengal,—and as there is little chance that the error will be committed again, I would not pass any censure on what has been done.—[Book L. page 59.] 5th August, 1836.

Promotion of Second Masters.—We must be on our guard against allowing second Masters to step as a matter of course into the situations of first Masters on vacancies. There is the more danger of this because the second Master, unless there is some strong objection to him, will generally be able to induce the Local Committee to recommend him from good nature. I would refer the question to the Sub-Committee for the choice of School-masters, who must know more than I do about Mr. Fowles. All that I know is that, last year, he was not thought qualified for one of the higher Masterships. He is not very likely to have improved himself much more, and Patna is a peculiarly delicate and important situation.—[Book K. page 97.] 30th October, 1836.

Chittagong School.—I would gladly pay a school-master at Chittagong. But it appears that we shall have also to build a school-house: and I doubt whether our finances are in a condition at this moment to support this additional expense. I would therefore answer Mr. Dampier as Mr. Sutherland proposes.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Smith has sent me a memorandum of the state of our finances, from which it appears that we can afford something for Chittagong. I am disposed to allow 150 Rupees a month for a master there.—[Book L. page 54.] 9th September, 1836.

Chittagong School.—Mr. * * * seems to be a very weak, foolish person. I agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that his being a Baptist is no reason for discarding him. But his foolish and disrespectable way of living, the evident dislike with which the Local Committee regard him, and his inefficiency as a master, are I think reasons for parting with him. I should be glad to know the opinion of the gentlemen who selected him.

I think that there could be no impropriety in our writing to Government to recommend Mr. Dampier's application to favorable consideration.—[Book N. page 73.] 18th March, 1837.

Chittagong School Endowment.—I am anxious that the sum should belong and should be known to belong to Chittagong School. In what mode it may most conveniently be brought to account is a question which I am incompetent to decide. But I see no advantage in remitting backwards and forwards.—[Book P. page 38.] 14th August, 1837.

Chittagong School.—Have we a good Bengalee teacher in Chittagong? How many pupils has he? Does he want assistance? I should be obliged to Mr. Sutherland to circulate the last information on these points. All that we can do is, as he justly says, to provide the means of instruction; but thus called upon, we shall be much to blame if we do not see that they are really provided.—[Book N. page 135.] 26th August, 1837.

Comillah School.—I vote for adopting this School, and for asking the gentlemen who form the present voluntary Committee to consent to our recommending them to Government as an official Local Committee. As the Board of Revenue has pressed on us the importance of teaching pure Bengali in Chittagong, I would ask the Local Committee whether the present teacher is competent to teach that language in its purity.—[Book P. page 42.] 25th August, 1837.

Arracan School.—To abolish the school at Furrackabad without a longer trial appears to me inexpedient. And if it were transferred to Cawnpore, we should save nothing. Such an arrangement would therefore not enable us to do anything for Arracan. I would certainly adopt Mr. Sutherland's last suggestion and forward the paper of Captain Boyle to Government. It is very interesting. But I hardly know how to reconcile what he says of the freedom of the Mughls from religious prejudices with

the vast power which the priests seem to exercise over the education of the whole nation : and I strongly suspect that we shall find these meek holy Phoonjees rather formidable opponents.—[Book L. page 191.] 21st October, 1837.

Application to place Midnapore School under the Educational Department.—Before deciding on this point, I should like to know whether there is a school-house which we could have without paying for it, or whether we should be under the necessity of building or hiring one.

The books may be supplied.—[Book M. page 65.] 12th September, 1836.

Ghazipore School Report.—We ought to applaud the zeal and perseverance of the Ghazipore Committee and to assure them that we shall not be discouraged by the unfavorable appearances which they report.—[Book K. page 19.] 30th Jan. 1836.

Ghazipore Local Committee.—The Local Committee is remarkably zealous and active : and the prospects of the school seem to be brightening. The progress which the pupils have made is as rapid, I think, as there was any ground to expect.—[Book O. page 73.] 13th January, 1837.

Allahabad School, Rupees 60 as house-rent and free quarters both recommended for the head-master.—The Local Committee seem to deserve our confidence so well, Mr. Bird's judgment is entitled to so much respect, and Allahabad is so important a place, that though there are some objections to this manner of making an addition to a salary, I am disposed to comply.—[Book N. page 52.] 22nd November, 1836.

Encouragement of Hindi at Allahabad.—I would not abolish the Persian class. Let it live till it dies a natural death. But let us by all means improve the Hindi school. I do not see why both the Hindi and Persian schools might not be transferred to the new English school-house, and I would willingly grant all the rent that is saved by this arrangement to the Hindi department.—[Book M. page 116.] 8th May, 1837.

Salary of Head Master of Gowhati School raised.—I would raise Mr. Singer's salary to Rupees 200 a month, and I would approve of the payments that have been made for prizes. The statement is encouraging.—[Book K. page 29.] 25th February, 1836.

Teaching Persian in Assam.—I quite agree with Mr. Sutherland. I would not suffer any portion of the hours for which we pay Mr. Singer to be employed in teaching Persian, nor would I send him any Persian books.

I am no judge about furniture. But it seems strange that it should be necessary to send to Calcutta.—[Book K. page 54.] 19th March, 1836.

Gowhatti School. Economy in the use of paper.—As to the indent for paper, it seems to me very high. It is more than a quire for every pupil. I feel certain that the great majority of the boys may, for a long time to come, do very well with slates. At all events the paper which we send for boys to scrawl upon, should be the coarsest and cheapest.—[Book J. page 119.] 29th August, 1836.

Sasseram Madrussa.—I am in great doubt as to this matter. I feel the force of the considerations urged in the letter which Mr. Sutherland proposes. Yet I am very unwilling to refuse support to an English school at a place where the natives shew so much desire to study our language.

I am inclined to propose that before we return an answer to Government, a reference should be made to the Local Committee at Benares. Sasseram is not very far from Benares and lies on the high road. There is constant intercourse between the two places. The Benares Committee could probably tell us whether an English school would be likely to thrive at Sasseram, and whether it would be possible to provide for the occasional inspection of such a school by some English gentleman. Regular superintendence there cannot be. But as many persons of high character are often travelling to and from Benares through Saseeram, it strikes me as possible that we might make such arrangements as would enable us to receive from time to time reports of the state of the School from quarters in which we could confide.

All this I submit with great diffidence to the judgment of those who know more of this country.—[Book M. page 47.] 8th July, 1836.

Sasseram Madrussa.—Having perused Mr. Smith's minutes, for which we are all much obliged to him, I vote for sending an answer to the Government to the effect, that we do not think an English school likely to thrive at Sasseram, and that we are unwilling to employ any part of our funds in such an undertaking.—[Book M. page 55.] 14th July, 1836.

Monitors at the Calcutta Madrussa.—We must take care not to revive the abuses of the old stipendiary system under another name. I do not object to paying monitors, provided it is distinctly understood that the monitorships be given on examination to the best scholars, and that they be held only for a term which ought in no case to exceed a year, and that they be then again open to competition.—[Book N. page 2.] 15th April, 1836.

Increase of stipends in the Calcutta Madrussa.—Our practice must be uniform. My own opinion is expressed in the papers sent up from the Sub-Committee. I see no reason to change

it as to the general principle. But in this particular case as the right may be said to have vested before the promulgation of the Government Orders, I would sanction the promotion.—[Book K. page 80.] 8th July, 1836.

Petition for money prizes instead of books at the Madrassa.—I hardly know what to say. If it be desirable to keep up this school at all, it seems to be desirable to reward merit in the way most acceptable to the students. I am rather disposed to grant their prayers.—[Book P. page 3.] 24th February, 1837.

Unsatisfactory state of the rich Nizamut College at Moorshedabad.—Mr. Sutherland describes very correctly the inefficient state of the Moorshedabad school and the delay which has taken place. We must absolutely put an end to this unsatisfactory state of things. I trust that Captain Higgerson will lend us his assistance for that purpose. I should wish to see an exact statement of the way in which the funds are now expended. I presume that such a statement can easily be procured within a few days. When we see what money we have at our command, we can frame a plan and carry it into effect instantly.—[Book L. page 6.] 18th March, 1836.

Nizamut College.—I have suggested one slight alteration. I quite approve of the proposed letter generally. I entertain better hopes for the College than Mr. Sutherland, and am quite willing to pardon Mr. ———'s prolixity in consideration of his zeal.—[Book L. page 41.] 30th June, 1836.

Moorshedabad Local Committee.—I agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that the Secretary must exercise a discretion as to re-circulating the books; and I think that he was right in re-circulating them on this occasion. The only thing that seems to me irregular is this,—that we resolved to consult Mr. Melville only as to the appointment of Mr. Elliot. We did not desire Mr. Melville to recommend anybody else. I therefore cannot agree with Mr. Prinsep in thinking that we are at all bound by the recommendation of the Local Committee.

I think that the best way out of the difficulty is to appoint both gentlemen, unless there be some objection to them. No such objection appears.—[Book O. page 99.] 5th April, 1837.

School house at Benares.—I think it very desirable that the Custom House at Benares should if possible be procured from Government for a school house. Perhaps some gentlemen acquainted with Benares can tell us whether the premises are the property of Government and whether they would answer our purpose. In the mean time I would stay all further proceedings.—[Book K. page 52.] 18th March, 1836.

Benares School Essays.—I think the samples very respectable. Siva Suhagur's seems to me to be the best. It is very creditable for a lad of fifteen, who has been admitted only five years. I propose that we should give him a prize of 50 Rupees and 25 Rs. to the other.—[Book K. page 24.] 11th February, 1836.

Benares School-house.—By all means, if by making this application we do not bind ourselves always to employ the executive officers. Sometimes, at Agra for example just now, we may find it convenient to contract with private parties.—[Book N. page 9.] 7th May, 1836.

Benares College Library.—This is discouraging. But I trust that we shall have means to supply the deficiency. We ought I think to consider the windfalls which come to us occasionally from a new-made Rajah and so forth as a peculiar fund for the purchase of books.—[Book K. page 71.] 1st June, 1836.

The Law Professorship of the Benares Sanscrit College.—I have no objection to what Mr. Sutherland proposes about the Benares Pundits, unless indeed there be in upper India any qualified person not among the candidates to whom the situation might be an object. I should have thought that there would be many such.—[Book N. page 167.] 25th November, 1837.

Division of the rich from the poor at the Benares College.—I am inclined to adopt the proposition of the Local Committee without the reservation proposed by Mr. Sutherland. The dividing of the pupils into two classes, the one consisting of the rich and the other of the poor, must be a difficult matter; and, if society in India be not altogether in a different state from that which exists in Europe, must produce great evils.—[Book L. page 207.] 28th December, 1837.

Agra College.—I am no judge of the price of building in this country. But 10,000 Rupees for two Bungalows seems to be high. I think that we had better authorize an outlay of Rupees 8,000 and direct the Local Committee not to exceed that sum without a reference to us.—[Book K. page 27.]

Estimate for Agra College Bungalows.—It seems to me that we should act most absurdly in sanctioning this estimate. The house would have cost only 11,000 rupees. The bungalows, if I remember rightly, were preferred to the house solely on the ground of economy; and we are now called upon to pay for them nearly 4000 Rupees more than were asked for the house.

I would not sanction this expenditure. It seems to me impossible that all those members of the Committee here who are well acquainted with the Mofussil, and all the members of

the Local Committee should have been so egregiously mistaken in their estimate of the cost of running up bungalows. I have had abundant opportunities of learning since I have been in this country that some of the executive engineers are very unreasonable in their charges, and I cannot help thinking that this must be the case with Captain T——. I would rather allow house-rent than assent to the proposition of the Local Committee.—[Book K. page 66.] 30th April, 1836.

Donation of Rupees 500 from the Agra Bank.—Yes, if they have no globes. It seems to me that we should not act wisely in throwing a present of this sort, not large in amount, yet very handsomely given, into the general fund and employing it to pay School-masters at Dacca or to buy stationery for Ghazipore. I think that it should be laid out in procuring something which, while it is of use, may also continue for a considerable time, to remind people of the liberal conduct of the Agra Bank. Two handsome globes for the Agra College would do exceedingly well. We might ask the Local Committee what we shall do with the surplus. Some scientific apparatus may perhaps be required.—[Book L. page 17.] 28th April, 1836.

Arabic Teachers at Agra College.—I do not understand from the letter that there are several classes. The Committee speak only of one. But we ought to be fully satisfied that there is not a demand for the services of an Arabic teacher before we recommend to Government the abolition of the office. It is not enough that the Local Committee think, as I think, that the money may be more usefully spent. What we have to ascertain, under the orders of Government is, whether the teacher will have a respectable number of pupils if we appoint him. I think that we should point this out to the Local Committee and call for fuller information.—[Book O. page 12]. 31st May, 1836.

At Agra College, boys of the same creed sit together.—I approve generally.—I quite disapprove of the exacting of payment from Christians as such. As to the separation which Mr. Woollaston has made between Christian and native pupils, I should wish for more information before I decide. We are in the habit of showing considerable indulgence to the prejudices, as we think them, of people whose religion differs from ours; and if the Christians who send their children to school at Agra wish them to sit together, and not to be mingled with the natives, I should be inclined to comply with their wish, just as I would comply with a similar wish on the part of Hindoos or Musalmans. The general rule, however, clearly ought to be that all classes should be treated alike and should be suffered to intermingle freely. I would call for explanation on this

subject; and I would inform the Local Committee that only very peculiar circumstances can, in our opinion, justify such a distinction as that which now exists.—[Book L. page 80.] 25th November, 1836.

Agra College. Mr. Duncan, the Secretary having become Principal is required to take his due share in the instruction of the pupils.—At present I think that we can do no more than call for a report setting forth the amount of duty which Mr. Duncan performs and the time which he devotes to it.—[Book L. page 87.] 26th December, 1836.

Meerut School. Head-master's House.—I would let him have the advance for which he asks. But I see no reason for building him a bungalow. Still less would I repair a bungalow within the lines, from which we may be ejected any day.

Agra College.—Certainly I would not deprive the successful candidate of his prize because he is a Christian. That would be too much in the style of Diocletian who is reprehended very justly, though not very much *apropos* in Balmokund's Essay. I would also give Balmokund a prize of 15 Rupees. We must not of course reverse the judgment of the Local Committees. But, as a matter of private taste, I think his Essay the better of the two.

If the Local Committee will mention the names of any natives who are qualified to be added to their body, we may recommend the measure to Government. I will not call such natives Assessors. Let them be members of the Committee if they are fit to be so.

I very generally agree with the propositions of the Secretary.—[Book M. page 107.] 31st March, 1837.

The Principal's duties at Agra.—I do not see that we can produce much improvement by further interference. We ought to shew, from time to time, that our eyes are open and that we are not absolutely letting every body take his own way. For the rest we must trust to the Local Committees.

As it is intended to teach Chemistry, we had better supply the institution, if it has not yet been done, with copies of Dr. O'Shaughnessy's work.—[Book M. page 132.] 21st August, 1837.

On the Delhi Committee proposing to re-appoint a Master on probation, Macaulay says:—

"I agree with the Secretary in thinking the course pursued by the Committee at Delhi rather singular. I would agree to what they propose, however. But I would desire them to report to us in a quarter of a year at latest, what measures they have taken for ascertaining Mr. Prest's fitness for the place,

and what the result of their enquiries has been.”—[Book E. page 176.] 17th December, 1835.

Delhi College.—The report is highly satisfactory. I am glad to find that my opinion on the subject of stipends is borne out by the facts. I agree generally with Mr. Sutherland. But I am at a loss to understand why pupils should be turned out of the institution at the end of six years. I would propose the immediate abolition of this restriction. I do not mean that any pupil should keep his stipend longer than he is now entitled to keep it. That would be inconsistent with the principles on which we are acting. I mean only that no pupil who is willing, without being paid, to avail himself of the advantages of the education given at Delhi should be limited as to time.

I would give thirty rupees to the author of the best theme. It is a highly creditable performance, every thing considered. —[Book M. page 5.] 1st March, 1836.

Chairs instead of forms for boys of rank at Delhi.—I am not sufficiently acquainted with native usages to give a decided opinion about the chairs. But, unless there be some strong reason for allowing that distinction, of which I am uninformed, I most fully agree with Mr. Sutherland.

I am quite against allowing the stipends to be continued.—[Book N. page 7.] 7th May, 1836.

— *College Principalship.*—I never can agree to pay 1,100 Rupees a month for Mr. ——— services. I will venture to say that we might procure an excellent scholar, a man of considerable literature, from England for less money. Eight hundred rupees a month is the utmost extent to which I can conscientiously go; and considering that we have proposed only 600 for the Principal at the Hooghly College, I doubt whether this is not going too far.—[Book N. page 13.] 2nd June, 1836.

— *College Committee.*—I would give them a flap which should not be gentle. I would give Mr. ——— to understand that he will be dismissed if things go on in this way. He is one of the most expensive agents employed by us; and there is no excuse for this negligence.—[Book M. page 74.] 29th October, 1836.

The Abolition of the useless office of Secretary at Delhi College.—If Mr. ——— declines the office of Principal I would not suffer him to retain that of Secretary. This place of Secretary is a mere sinecure. When we propose to give him an efficient office with an augmentation of salary, he refuses it. I propose that we should intimate to the Local Committee at Delhi our determination on this subject, and suffer Mr. ——— to take his choice.

I doubt about the expediency of sending up to Delhi Bengalees from the Hindu College. But if the Sub-committee of School-masters can suggest persons who are likely to be more acceptable at Delhi than Bengalees would be, and to be at the same time good teachers, I would appoint those persons to the situations which are now filled in a manner unsatisfactory to the Local Committee.—[Book O. page 65.]—26th November, 1836.

Delhi College.—I have again looked into this question; and I perceive that Mr. Thompson is among the teachers whose services are to be dispensed with. I do not well understand this. He was educated in Bengal. I have seen letters from him very well expressed, and it is not likely that any youth whom we may send up from Calcutta, will be better acquainted with the English language. I think that we should call on the Local Committee to state distinctly whom they propose to displace, and on what grounds. I am sorry to say that I do not see reason for reposing quite the same confidence in the judgment and temper of our friends at Delhi which I am generally willing to repose in our Local Committees.—[Book O. page 67.] 26th November, 1836.

Delhi College.—In my opinion Mr. Everest shews good grounds for the changes which are proposed among the under masters. I would do nothing till we receive an answer to all the points in the letter of the 12th of December. Such an answer cannot be long delayed. If it does not arrive in a few days, I would suggest that Mr. Sutherland should write again.—[Book M. page 95.] 17th February, 1837.

Delhi College.—I should be inclined to reserve this question till we know whether the arrangement which we proposed respecting Delhi is or is not to be carried into effect in all its parts. It is impossible for us to leave out of our consideration the fact that the father of this Mr. ——— has been for some time holding a sinecure place in the Delhi College. With the father for Secretary, and the son for Master, the College has been going down.

We have found it necessary to propose a new arrangement, which has not yet been acceded to by the father. Till that matter is disposed of, I would make no addition to the salary of the son.—[Book P. page 40.] 25th August, 1837.

Delhi College.—It would have been very desirable that Mr. Pereira should have been directed not to quit Furrackabad till he had been relieved. Ignorant as we are of the state of things at Delhi, I would let him stay, till we have a decisive answer to the question whether our plan is or is not adopted.—[Book N. page 139.] 8th September, 1837.

Delhi College.—I really do not know what to propose about this matter. The only thing clear to me is that the Delhi Institution, one of the most important under our care, is going to ruin. We have not, as far as I know, received any answer from Mr. ———, stating whether he is, or is not, willing to accede to the plan proposed by us. And, from many circumstances, I am inclined to despair of any cordial co-operation on his part.

A thought has occurred to me which may possibly be of some service. Our colleague Mr. Colvin is about to proceed up the country, and will probably pass some time at Delhi in the course of the next spring. He will, to be sure, have much to do. Yet I think that he might be able to find a few hours for the purpose of inquiring into the state of things. I would propose, if he has no objection, to give him visitatorial authority, and to request that he will report to us his opinion as to the arrangements which may be necessary. If I should then be in India, which is not very likely, I should be disposed to place implicit reliance on any opinion which he may form on the spot. At present, in any case, the question must lie over till we have Mr. ———'s answer.—[Book N. page 146.] 22nd September, 1837.

Delhi College.—The page and book where the information is to be found are not mentioned. What I understood to be resolved was that Mr. ——— was to be principal of the Institution, and that no change whatever was at present to be made in his situation as respects the College: and this I think the best arrangement for the present. Mr. Colvin may be able on the spot to devise a better.—[Book N. page 154.] 1st October, 1837.

Delhi College.—I impute no blame to Mr. Sutherland; but my understanding as to what was determined was the same as Mr. Trevelyan's. I understand it to be the sense of the Committee that Mr. ——— is, for the present, to give three hours a day to the business of tuition in the English College. I would have this arrangement instantly carried into effect. The rest must wait for Mr. Colvin's report, which probably will not arrive during the next six months.—[Book N. page 161.] 20th October, 1837.

Dacca College.—I do not dispute Mr. Ridge's claims. But I fear that we are spending money too fast. If we have stipulated to pay 500 rupees a month, I would make this increase. But if we merely mentioned 500 Rs. a month as a maximum which we did not mean to exceed, I should be inclined to hesitate. Perhaps the best course would be to refer the

point to the Sub-Committee of Finance.—[Book M. page 26.] 19th May, 1836.

Increase of the Instructive staff at Dacca.—I would certainly refer this letter to the Local Committee. I think that it would be proper for us to direct all the Local Committees to let us know whenever the demand for instruction at any place exceeds the supply. But for this letter of Ramlochun Ghose, I should not have had the least notion that such was the case at Dacca.—[Book O. page 58.] 12th November, 1836.

Dacca Local Committee.—This seems to me an idle punctilio. If Ramlochun Ghose were in the employ of the Local Committee, there might be some ground for the objection. But he is under no obligation to tell us any thing, and we may surely let him chuse his own way of serving us. Perhaps, as the Local Committee seem disposed to be captious, we had better drop the subject.—[Book O. page 71.] 9th January, 1837.

Dacca Local Committee.—An exceedingly satisfactory report. I approve of what Mr. Sutherland proposes. We may consult the Local Committee about the expediency of adding any natives to their body. I am not sanguine as to contributions.—[Book O. page 81.] 14th February, 1837.

The Secretary reports that there is no money available to establish a School at Dinagapore.—Is this so? I would send to the Sub-Committee of Finance to know whether all our funds are appropriated.—[Book N. page 164.] 9th November, 1837.

Funds not available for Dinagapore School.—I do not understand the decision of Government as Mr. Sutherland understands it. In substance our receipts all belong to a common fund. But in form we draw separately for different parts of our income. As to the rest I agree with the Secretary.—[Book N. page 170.] 8th December, 1837.

Proposal to purchase 150 copies of Playfair's Euclid, Calcutta Edition.—I do not object. But it is a great pity that the diagrams are separated from the propositions. They are also most deplorably ill drawn. The squares are most whimsical trapeziums.—[Book G. page 4.] 10th February, 1835.

Oriental books for the Juanpore School.—I think that we should send such of the Persian and Arabic works applied for as we have in our depository. But I would not make any purchases of such works for the Juanpore School.—[Book G. page 5.] 21st February, 1835.

Oriental books for Benares.—As we have the books, we cannot do any thing better with them than to give them to these applicants.—[Book G. page 9.] 6th March, 1835.

The importance of Geography as compared with a knowledge of the Stars.—I agree with Mr. Trevelyan that we should procure Globes from England. But I cannot agree with him in thinking that we should indent for an equal number of terrestrial and celestial Globes. The importance of Geography is very great indeed. I am not sure that it is not of all studies that which is most likely to open the mind of a native of India. But a knowledge of the precise positions of the fixed stars is by no means indispensable even to a very liberal European education. I know many most enlightened English gentlemen who do not know Aldebaran from Castor or Pollux. I would order only one or two celestial Globes and twenty terrestrial.—[Book G. page 17.] 25th March, 1835.

Proposal to purchase 100 copies of Wollaston's Geography.—I will not object. But I think that we ought seriously to consider whether we are not taking a very expensive course in subscribing to new publications on the elements of science. In England works of great merit may be procured at a very small price, and sent hither to us at a very small additional charge. The price of one of the tracts published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is 6*d.* The same quantity of matter printed in this country, would probably cost two Rupees. It deserves to be considered whether we ought not to import more and to subscribe less.—[Book G. page 22.] 28th March, 1835.

Stoppage of the printing of Oriental books.—I should be most reluctant to affront a gentleman for whom I feel so much respect, as I most unfeignedly entertain for Dr. Mill. But we have positive orders from Government, and we surely offer no slight to Dr. Mill by obeying those orders.

I should be sorry to say any thing disrespectfully of that liberal and generous enthusiasm for Oriental literature which appears in Mr. Sutherland's minute. But I own that I cannot think that we ought to be guided in the distribution of the small sum, which the Government has allotted for the purpose of education, by considerations which seem a little romantic. That the Saracens a thousand years ago cultivated Mathematical science is hardly, I think, a reason for our spending any money in translating English treatises on mathematics into Arabic. If our proceedings are to be influenced by historical association, it would be easy to refer to topics of a different kind. Mr. Sutherland would probably think it very strange, if we were to urge the destruction of the Alexandrian Library as a reason against patronizing Arabic Literature in the nineteenth century. We have, I think, a very plain duty to perform, which the instructions of the Government have, as we have

resolved, marked out to us explicitly. The undertaking of Dr. Mill may be, as Mr. Sutherland conceives, a great national work. So is the breakwater at Madras. But under the orders which we have received from the Government, we have just as little to do with the one as with the other. The contracts which we have already made, must be fulfilled and the work of Dr. Mill must, like other works in hand, be stopped.—[Book G. page 27.] 9th April, 1835.

The demand for damages made by the Rev. W. H. Pearce on the stoppage of the printing of Oriental works.—With all respect for Mr. Pearce, I do not conceive that his opinion as to what is due to our national character, or as to the effect which the stopping of the printing may produce in either Europe or America is entitled to much weight in opposition to the positive orders of the Government which we serve. If the Committee have really given to Mr. Pearce such a pledge as he speaks of, they have, in my opinion, been guilty of a very great breach of their duty. But of this I fully acquit them. If there be any such express contract, let it be produced. I shall not easily be satisfied that there was any implied contract, for I never heard of such an implied contract in any similar transaction. If a man begins an expensive publication in many volumes, an Encyclopædia for example, and, finding that he has no encouragement from the public, determines to stop after the first two or three volumes, is he to be forced to pay his printer for the twenty volumes which were originally projected? A contract so grossly absurd ought surely to be proved by the strongest evidence. It is not the rule, but a rare and almost incredible exception; and never can be implied from such circumstances as those on which Mr. Pearce grounds his claim.

My opinion is that, since Mr. Pearce insists on his right, and gives us plainly to understand that he thinks that he has it in his power to obtain his demand in the shape of a forfeiture for non-performance of contract, we ought to enter into no compromise, and allow him no indulgence whatever. I do not think that he need entertain the smallest scruple about recovering this forfeiture “from the comparatively small sums now available for the education of the people of India.” For it is my firm conviction that what we pay Mr. Pearce for printing is as dead a loss to the cause of education, as what we may have to pay him for damages. But it is idle to talk about damages in such a case. I propose that Mr. Pearce be informed that the Committee altogether deny his claim both in law and in equity, and that they are not disposed to enter upon any of the other matters to which he refers till that claim is distinctly withdrawn.—[Book G. page 35.] 22nd April, 1835.

Further minute on the same subject.—As the book has come back to me, I cannot help saying two or three words now about Mr. Pearce's claim. I proceeded on the supposition, that there was no express contract, no bond, no papers; for this simple reason, that if there had been any such contract on paper, it is as certain as any thing in human nature can be, that Mr. Pearce would have referred to that contract. He has not referred to it. None of the gentlemen who have been longest in the Committee, who must have known of the existence of such a contract if it existed, who are most zealous for the printing of the Oriental works now in hand, has ventured to say that there is such a contract. I am entitled to take it for granted that there is none. The idea of an implied contract in such a case seems to me, as I have said, absurd. We pay for the work done, and for nothing more. As for the addition to the buildings which is stated to have been made on our account, it is certain that it was not made by our authority or with our privity. And it can therefore constitute no claim against us. I have not the smallest objection to the proposition to call for papers. I am quite sure that none will come.—[Book G. page 45.]

Macaulay's opinion on Goldsmith's Histories of Greece and Rome, and on Grammars of Rhetoric and Logic.—I must frankly own that I do not like the list of books. Grammars of Rhetoric and Grammars of Logic are among the most useless furniture of a shelf. Give a boy Robinson Crusoe. That is worth all the grammars of rhetoric and logic in the world. Goldsmith's histories of Greece and Rome are miserable performances, and I do not at all like to lay out £50 on them, even after they have received all Mr. Pinnock's improvements. The history of Greece published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is immeasurably superior in every respect to Goldsmith's.

I think that we need not spend £25 on fifty of Priestly's Charts of Biography. Ten would be amply sufficient. They are not articles of which many are required. We only want to hang one up in each of our principal schools.

I must own too that I think the order for globes and other instruments unnecessarily large. To lay out £324 at once in globes alone, useful as I acknowledge those articles to be, seems exceedingly profuse, when we have only about £3000 a year for all purposes of English education. One 12-inch or 18-inch globe for each school is quite enough; and we ought not, I think, to order 16 such globes when we are about to establish only seven schools. Useful as the telescopes, the theodolites, and the other scientific instruments mentioned in the indent undoubtedly are, we must consider that four or five such in-

struments run away with a year's salary of a school master and that, if we purchase them, it will be necessary for us to defer the establishment of schools.

I would order nothing at present that is not absolutely necessary. When our means become larger, we may indulge in the purchase of beautiful and accurate instruments. But for a year or two, I would resolutely abstain. A twelve-inch globe for each schoolroom, and a few small globes for prizes ought to suffice at present. As to books, we ought to procure such as are likely to attract and delight children, such as are likely to give them a taste for the literature of the West; not books filled with idle distinctions and definitions, which every man who has learned them, makes haste to forget. Who ever reasoned better for having been taught the difference between a syllogism and an enthymeme? Who ever composed, with greater spirit and elegance because he could define an oxymoron or an aposiopesis? I am not joking, but writing quite seriously when I say that I would much rather order a hundred copies of *Jack the Giant Killer* for our schools than a hundred copies of any grammar of Rhetoric or Logic that ever was written. I therefore think that the indent requires to be re-cast: that part which relates to the books on account of the real worthlessness of many of the books which it is proposed to order; and that part which relates to instruments on account of the very heavy expense which it would lay upon us.—[Book G. page 53.] 6th May, 1835.

First books in English for native youths.—I do not object to the indent in its present form. But I think that we should early take into serious consideration the question, What books are most likely to be attractive to young native students of English? My own opinion is, that they ought to be taught our language by means of the most popular and agreeable narratives which it contains. From little fairy tales they may be led on to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*, and thence to *Shakespeare* and *Milton*.—[Book G. page 70.] 3rd June, 1835.

Further minute on Mr. Pearce's claims.—I am of opinion that as the additions made by Mr. Pearce to his premises are not alleged to have been made by our direction, he has no claim whatever on that account. Nor do I think that he has any claim on account of the stock which he purchased, unless it can be shewn that he paid more for it than it was fairly worth, as a bonus to induce the Committee to engage with him. If this can be shewn, I would consent to pay him back the excess. But I do not find that this is even pretended.

I shall continue to think that he has no claim whatever in law, justice or generosity, until it is made out by arguments

and evidence of a very different kind from any that I have yet seen.—[Book G. page 63.] 22nd May, 1835.

The Bishop's College bill for printing part of Dr. Mill's Arabic translation of Bridge's Algebra.—I see that, when the question respecting Dr. Mill's work was last before us, I confined my observations to the question, whether we should go on with the printing or stop it. Indeed the fact that the estimate had been so enormously exceeded, was not distinctly brought under our notice in the Secretary's minute, or, as far I can now remember, in any of the papers then circulated.

I should be sorry to act in a manner disagreeable to so distinguished a scholar and so highly respectable a gentleman as Dr. Mill. But I really cannot see that I have any choice. An estimate is sent in amounting to 828 rupees. This estimate is sanctioned. The bill comes in, only part of the work has been done; and we are called on to pay 3000 Rupees. This is not the way in which public money is to be squandered, even when the object in view is one of real utility. The object in this case is to have an Arabic version of an exceedingly bad English book. A translation which nobody will read, of an original which nobody was ever the wiser for reading. Those gentlemen who, when the question was last before us, conceived that we were bound not merely to pay this bill, but to go on with the work, will now, I think, allow that, if there be any breach of contract in the matter, that breach has not been committed by us. I propose that we should acquaint Mr. Holmes, that the Government object to his bill as greatly exceeding the estimate, and that we should call upon him to explain, in the first place, why it so much exceeds the estimate, and, in the second place, why, when it was found impossible to finish the work for the sum originally contracted for, no communication to that effect was made to the Committee. I take it for granted that no such communication was made. Had there been any such document, it would of course have been circulated.—[Book G. page 76.] 29th June, 1835.

Further minute on the same subject.—At last we have an explanation which turns out to be no explanation at all. Both the Government and Dr. Mill have, I think, great reason to complain of the conduct of Mr. Holmes. That gentleman, by his own confession, never brought to Dr. Mill's notice the fact that, while Dr. Mill was in England, an estimate was presented to the Government on the part of the College and was approved. He says, with a most extraordinary coolness, that the estimate was obsolete, and he assigns no other reason for pronouncing it obsolete except that he had himself forgotten it.

I must say that my notions of public business and above all of public business where public money is concerned, differ very widely from the Rev. Bursar's. Every man who contracts with the public ought to remember the terms of his contract; and, if he forgets those terms, he must suffer for his negligence. I may be sorry that any portion of the loss should fall on the college or on the Principal. But I am not their agent. I am an agent for the public. And as such I am to determine whether the public shall pay four times as much as it is bound to pay merely because a gentleman tells me that he forgot the terms of the contract. If we accept so ridiculous an excuse, I feel convinced that the Governor General in Council will not accept it. We shall only injure our own character with the Government by our laxity, we shall not serve Dr. Mill in the least.

I have a great respect for Dr. Mill's character, both moral and intellectual; and I should gladly see the patronage of Government extended, in a proper manner, to so distinguished a scholar. But I cannot agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that all the rules established for the purpose of preventing jobbing and profusion are to be dispensed with in compliment to Dr. Mill's learning and talents. What is the use of requiring estimates? Why should we go through so tedious a form, if, as Mr. Holmes says, we are, in spite of the terms of the estimate, bound in good faith to allow those whom we employ to dip as deep into the public purse as they chuse. (*Sic.*) If the estimate had been exceeded by a few hundred rupees, we might have shewn indulgence. But we are called on to pay for a part of the work nearly four times as much as we engaged to pay for the whole. I cannot conscientiously recommend the claim to the Government.—[Book G. page 89.] 6th August, 1835.

Decision concerning the Bishop's College Press Bill.—Mr. Bushby takes a middle course, and votes for paying part of the excess, and not the whole. The votes therefore stand thus. On the question of paying for the second delivery there are 8 for paying, and 6 against it. On the question of paying for the third delivery we are 7 to 7.

The Government ought, I think, in a case in which such a difference of opinion exists to see all the papers.—[Book G. page 101.] 21st August, 1835.

[This question occasioned much discussion in the Committee, as the work was allowed to have been cheaply executed at the price demanded. In favor of payment for the second and third parts were,—The Hon^{ble} H. Shakespear, J. R. Colvin,

C. Smith, R. J. H. Birch, Dr. Grant, S. Sutherland and Col. Young. Mr. Bushby voted for the payment of the second part and against the payment for the third part. H. W.]

Excess over estimates in printing Oriental books.—I would pay no more than we contracted for. Though it may be impossible to predetermine the exact number of pages which Oriental manuscripts will occupy, a mistake of very nearly a third is quite unpardonable.—[Book G. page 84.] 20th July, 1835.

The Committee's system of making contracts.—This is the Bishop's College case in miniature. We agree to an estimate. The estimate is exceeded, we object to paying the excess. The answer is, that we have been in the habit of doing business so carelessly that no body ever troubled himself about the terms of his contracts with us. Our facility has been carried so far that it would be dishonest in us to stand upon our rights. We have made a kind of implied contract with all the world that they are to cheat us and that we are to submit to be cheated. I am quite unable to comprehend this doctrine. As to the particular plea of the Moulvi that it is impossible accurately to calculate the number of pages which Oriental printing will occupy, I am quite ready to allow all that can be fairly claimed on this ground. The estimate was for 600 pages, the work occupies 774 pages. If Mr. Sutherland or any other eminent orientalist will assure us that it is impossible to calculate within one-fourth the number of pages which the printing of Oriental manuscript will occupy, I will withdraw my objections. But I cannot admit that, because we have never held people strictly to their engagements before, we commit a breach of faith if we begin to do so now.—[Book G. page 109.] 13th September, 1835.

Expensiveness of European Shops.—We must take care not to fall into such an error again. The difference in the prices of European and Native shops is so well known even to new comers like myself, that I can hardly understand how persons so well acquainted with India as Mr. Clift and Mr. Ridge can have made such a mistake.—[Book G. page 82.] 18th July, 1835.

Transfer of the Committee's Oriental Publications to the Asiatic Society.—I am truly glad to find from Sir E. Ryan's minute that the course proposed is likely to be gratifying to the Asiatic Society. In the hope that it may be so, I readily assent to what is proposed.—[Book G. page 104.] 27th August, 1835.

I think that Government meant that all the stock and all the good will, so to speak, of the Committee, in its publishing capacity are to be transferred to the Asiatic Society.—[Book G. page 105.] 3rd September, 1835.

On the Selection of a series of class books.—I quite approve of Sir Edward's proposition. Mr. Cameron will, I am sure, be kind enough to write early to the Archbishop of Dublin, who is better qualified than any other person to afford us information.—[Book G. page 119.] 21st September, 1835.

Delhi College indent for books.—It seems absolutely necessary to have the books. But I agree with Mr. Sutherland in thinking that they might be procured cheaper than from Mr. ———. The only objection to buying them at auction is, that we shall probably have to wait some months before we make up the collection required; and the wants of the school seem to be pressing. Perhaps our best course will be to authorize Mr. Sutherland to procure the books wherever he can procure them at the lowest price, during Mr. Taylor's stay.—[Book G. page 121.] 28th September, 1835.

Moulavi Abdul Majid's application for English books.—I am heartily glad to find that so distinguished a native scholar is asking for English books for the use of his own children. I have no objection to grant what he requests.—[Book G. page 124.] 9th October, 1835.

Refusal to printing Moulavi Gholam Hossein's works.—I agree with Mr. Sutherland that we can do nothing for Gholam Hossein here. When the question of the Hooghly College comes before us, I shall be glad to give every fair consideration to his claims.—[Book G. page 127.] 12th October, 1835.

New Criminal Code.—I do not distinctly recollect what X passed respecting the work in question. But it appears to me that the orders of Government distinctly apply to it, and I cannot see any good reason for excepting it from the operation of the general rule.

If I understand Captain Ouseley's letter rightly, the portion of the work which remains relates to the criminal Courts and the Police. Now it is known to the Committee that the Law Commission are actually engaged under the orders of Government in framing a new Criminal Code, which, when framed, will supersede all the regulations in question. How soon the Commissioners will finish this task, I will not venture to say. When I am sanguine, I think that it may be completed in a year. But I think that two years or two years and half is the very utmost. Now it seems to me that it would be very absurd to pay 1,000 Rupees or thereabout for an abstract of regulations which will be rescinded within a few months after the publication of the abstract.

I have other objections, but I will not advert to them, because that which I have mentioned seems to be decisive.—[Book G. page 128.] 16th October, 1835.

[The Criminal Code here mentioned was not passed till 1860. It hung on hand not for one or two years but for a quarter of a century.—H. W.]

Price of a pair of 18 inch Globes, Rupees 260.—The price seems high. But if it be the ordinary price, we had better buy the articles here than send for them to London. I should be glad if Mr. Sutherland would state the cost of the globes for which we have indented. Surely it was much smaller than what the School Book Society are now asking. 19th October, 1835.

Maps of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge.—I do not understand why we should employ the agency of the School Book Society at all. At any rate the terms are extremely high: and I would insist on their being lowered. The Maps are excellent, and Sir Benjamin Malkin's paper is well worth reading.—[Book G. page 139.] 13th November, 1835.

Proposal to request Government to compliment the King of Oude on his liberal encouragement of learning.—I wish to see native Princes encouraged to bestow on science and literature some portion of what they now waste on dancing girls and gimcracks; but I cannot approve of Captain Paton's suggestion. In the first place, what the king of Oude has done is quite contemptible, when the amount of his revenue is considered. Many of the native gentlemen who contributed to the Hindu College have from their private means expended more on education than this prince, the richest, I imagine, in India, has furnished from his immense treasures. We make our compliments cheap, if we bestow them on a king who, out of a revenue exceeding a crore, has spared a few hundred Rupees for purposes of education.

This is my first objection. My second is this. All the world knows that the relations between Oude and the Company's Government are of a very delicate kind; and that a complimentary letter from Government extolling the liberal and enlightened patronage extended by the king to science and learning, could not, at the present time, be by any means an unimportant communication. In saying this I say only what is known to every body who reads the newspapers.

Our reports will shew to the Government what the king of Oude has done. They may if they think his lithographic prints worthy of such a compliment, praise his munificent and liberal spirit. But I am against sending up any such recommendation as is proposed.—[Book G. page 148.] 12th January, 1836.

Acceptance of the offer of 200 copies of the King of Oude's Maps.—By all means, though to be sure more detestable maps were never seen. One would think that the revenues of Oude

and the treasures of Saadut Ali might have borne the expense of producing something better than a map in which Sicily is joined on the toe of Italy, and in which so important an eastern island as Java does not appear at all.—[Book G. page 160.] 8th March, 1836.

Persian Version of the Kamus.—I fear that we cannot properly comply with this application. We should, as far as I can judge, only be throwing good money after bad. Two thousand Rupees is far too much to lay down for the chance, a very poor chance too, it seems of having thirty copies of a Persain and Arabic Dictionary, which none of our schools can want, and which nobody would buy of us for half the money. In my opinion we ought to sit down content with our loss, and to rejoice that we have saved 4,000 Rupees.—[Book G. page 162.] 18th March, 1836.

Persian Version of the Kamus.—I cannot make out what the majority of the Committee has determined. I voted and, if the question were open, should still vote, against the proposed advance. If it is resolved to make the advance the precaution suggested by Mr. Sutherland seems proper. We certainly ought to apply to Government to levy our 1,000 Rupees from Kayem Ali's pension.—[Book G. page 173.] 2nd June, 1836.

Persian Commentary on the Sayings of Mahomed.—I find it difficult to understand how, if the Hooghly College wants only two, the Madrasa can want forty. The book is expensive, and if, as Dr. Wise says, it is merely a book of reference, I would certainly not take the number proposed by our Secretary. Indeed Captain Ouseley's expression is "thirty or forty." I should think ten quite enough.—[Book L. page 173.] 28th December, 1837.

Ptolemaic system.—I feel great respect for Mr. Shakespear's judgment: but my opinion remains unchanged. I do not think that this table would be of much use to us for purposes of education, and we have too little money to afford any merely for the purpose of paying compliments to grown up persons who find out that the sun does not go round the earth.—[Book K. page 102.] 30th November, 1836.

Subscription to the Alif Iqala.—I think that the subscription of the Government ought to dispense us from subscribing. I shall subscribe as an individual and shall have great pleasure in putting my copy at the disposal of the Committee.—Book N. page 56.] 16th December, 1836.

The Kamus.—I was in a minority on this matter formerly. I will not oppose this advance, if the other members of the Committee think it reasonable.—[Book G. page 178.] 22nd December, 1836.

Encouragement to the Summit Towarikh.—What is the book about? how is it executed? I should be obliged to some of our Orientalists to dip into it, and see whether we should do good or harm by distributing copies.—[Book N. page 69.] 8th March, 1837.

Proper Books for Prizes.—I agree with all that Sir B. Malkin has written. But I go even further than he. I own that I think the whole list a bad one. Not one book in ten is such as I should have selected. The mere circumstance that a gentleman is going to leave Hooghly, and is willing to sell us his library in the lump, seems to be no reason for our taking it. We can have no difficulty in making similar purchases every day. I am sure that not a week passes in which Messrs. Jenkins and Low do not sell collections at least as well chosen as this. I would decline altogether to purchase these standard books.

As to the list of prize books, I am not much better satisfied. It is absolutely unintelligible to me why Pope's works and my old friend Moore's *Lalla Rookh* should be selected from the whole mass of English poetry to be prize books. I will engage to frame, *currente calamo*, a better list—Bacon's *Essays*, Hume's *England*, Gibbon's *Rome*, Robertson's *Charles V.*, Robertson's *Scotland*, Robertson's *America*, Swift's *Gulliver*, Robinson Crusoe, Shakspeare's *Works*, *Paradise Lost*, Milton's smaller poems, *Arabian Nights*, Parke's *Travels*, Anson's *Voyage*, The *Vicar of Wakefield*, Johnson's *Lives*, Gil Blas, Voltaire's *Charles XII.* Southey's *Nelson*, Middleton's *life of Cicero*.

This may serve as a specimen. These are books which will amuse and interest those who obtained them. To give a boy Abercrombie on the *Intellectual Powers*, Dick's *Moral Improvement*, Young's *Intellectual Philosophy*, Chalmers's *Poetical Economy!!!* (in passing I may be allowed to ask what that means) is quite absurd. I would not give orders at random for books about which we know nothing. There are quite enough books which we know to be good. We are under no necessity of ordering any at haphazard. We know Robinson Crusoe and *Gulliver* and the *Arabian Nights*, and Anson's *Voyage*, and many other delightful works which interest even the very young, and which do not lose their interest to the end of our lives. Why should we order blindfold such books as Markham's *New Children's Friend*, the *Juvenile Scrap Book*, *The Child's Own Book*, Niggens's *Earth*, Mudie's *Sea*, and somebody else's *fire and air*, books which, I will be bound for it, none of us ever opened.

The list in my opinion ought in all its parts to be thoroughly

recast. If Sir B. Malkin will furnish a list of ten or twelve books of a scientific kind which he thinks would be suited for prizes, the task will not be difficult; and with his help I will gladly undertake it. When I say "suited for prizes," I mean that prize books ought to be interesting and amusing. There is a marked distinction between a *prize book* and a *school book*. A prize book ought to be a book which a boy receives with pleasure and turns over and over, not as a task, but spontaneously. I have not forgotten my own schoolboy feelings on this subject. My pleasure at obtaining a prize was greatly enhanced by the knowledge that my little library would receive a very agreeable addition. I never was better pleased than when at fourteen I was master of Boswell's Life of Johnson which I had long been wishing to read. If my master had given me, instead of Boswell, a critical Pronouncing Dictionary, or a Geographical class book, I should have been much less gratified by my success. In the list before us, these considerations are utterly neglected. I therefore recommend that the whole list be at once rejected, and that we proceed to frame a new one.—[Page 94.] 21st December, 1836.

SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

Principal's House.—I cannot agree to the proposition about Ramcomul Sen's house. I do not see why we should pay 60 Rupees a month, when we can have accommodation for nothing. I should be most happy to afford any convenience to Dr. Bramley, but I cannot consent to do it out of our funds.—[Book E. page 109.] 19th April, 1835.

Chemical lectures at the Medical College.—I sent the box yesterday to Dr. Grant, as I felt some diffidence in my own judgment in a question of this kind. It may therefore seem rather strange that I do not acquiesce in Dr. Grant's opinion. But I own that I am not quite satisfied by what he has said. I do not conceive that we ought to take into our consideration any question but this simple one: Would it be a good thing for the instruction of Medical science in this country that Dr. O'Shaughnessy should read lectures on chemistry to the Medical students? Whether Dr. Bramley was formerly convinced of the importance of chemical lectures or not, whether he changed his mind on the subject or not, whether he were a party to the existing plan or not, seem to me to be very unimportant questions. If he were a party to the plan, it is not on that account the less his duty to suggest amendments in it. On the contrary, the circumstance of his being a party to the plan, makes it peculiarly his duty to do all in his power to make the plan perfect. I do not find that Dr. Grant denies

the expediency of having these chemical lectures. On the contrary, in that very able report which he has sent round with this book, he distinctly states that such lectures ought to be delivered. Nothing in his minute seems to indicate any change of opinion. He objects to Mr. Sutherland's proposition solely, if I understand his reasoning, because Dr. Bramley cannot, without inconsistency, apply for the assistance of a chemical lecturer. I own that I feel much more desirous to establish a really useful and flourishing Medical institution than to hold Dr. Bramley to anything that he may have formerly proposed. Nor can I consent to punish the Indian people for that gentleman's inconsistency.

I speak with great submission to the judgment of Dr. Grant on every professional subject. If Dr. Grant had declared his opinion that chemical lectures would be useless, or that Dr. O'Shaughnessy was incompetent to deliver them, I should have voted against the proposition. But as Dr. Grant evidently thinks the lectures essential to a good medical school, as he makes no objection to the proposed lecturer, and as the only reason which he assigns for not acceding to the application is, that the application cannot consistently come from Dr. Bramley, I cannot but vote for recommending the proposition to Government.—[Book I. page 25.] 11th July, 1835.

Stipends in the Medical College.—I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that the same reasons which have induced the Government to abolish the system of giving stipends in other departments of education apply, for the most part, to the Medical College. Indeed some of them apply with peculiar force to the case of the Medical College. To give a youth a good Medical education is to give him the means of supporting himself in comfort. And it seems unnecessary to pay him for leave to give him the means of supporting himself in comfort. I should at least recommend that the experiment should be tried of not filling up the scholarships as they fall vacant.—[Book I page 35.] 21st July, 1835.

Further minute on stipends in the Medical College.—What I would propose is a middle course. Let us not at present recommend to Government to abolish the stipends. But let none that may become vacant be filled up till we have reconsidered the question and satisfied ourselves that the state of the College absolutely requires a departure from what I think a most wholesome general rule.—[Book I. page 43.] 7th August, 1835.

Stipendiaries.—I hardly know what to say. These youths are already receiving stipends, and I really think that we are entitled, in return for those stipends, to expect gratuitous

service from them. At all events an addition to their stipends much smaller than 10 Rupees per mensem ought to suffice for the present, and when their stipends fall in, the next holders should be bound to perform their services without any extra pay.

The duties of Stipendholders.—I am for adopting the measures which the Sub-committee recommend. As to the proposition which they have submitted for our decision without offering any opinion upon it, I cannot agree to it in its present form. It seems to me that the sum proposed is large : and it seems to me also that while there are stipendiary pupils in the College, it would be quite proper to require those pupils, in return for their stipends, to render to the institution any services which are not of a menial kind : and the services required do not appear to be of a menial kind. Why should not one student be Curator of the museum, another Librarian, and so forth. But on this subject I should be glad to learn the opinions of the gentlemen who attended the meeting of the Sub-committee.—[Book I. page 46.] 7th December, 1835.

Further Minute on the same question.—The explanation is quite satisfactory, and what Dr. Bramley asks should be granted.—[Book I. page 50.] 28th December, 1835.

Dwarkanath Tagore's offer to give Rupees 2000 yearly as prizes to the Medical College.—Dwarkanath Tagore deserves the highest praise. This liberality throws the king of Oude and his penny maps quite into the shade.—[Page 7.] 29th March, 1836.

Distribution of the Tagore prize.—I approve of the proposition, except that I do not understand why the fifth man should be equally rewarded with the fourth, when the fourth has only half as much as the third, and the sixth only half as much as the fifth. There is no particular likelihood that the fourth and fifth man will be near each other in merit. There may be a wider difference between them than between any other two prizemen. I would advise some alteration in this part of the plan.—[Page 12.] 20th April, 1836.

Medical College.—On the occasion of the gift by Baboo Ramgopal Ghose of fifteen valuable works on medical subjects to the library of the College, Macaulay terms the offer "a very gratifying circumstance," and Sir Charles Trevelyan suggests that Baboo Ram Gopal "ought to have a handsome acknowledgment from our Committee; this would encourage others to do the same."—[Page 9.]

Prizes.—I do not object to what is proposed provided always that no prize be given to any pupil who does not really deserve one by his positive merit. If there be not at present a sufficient number of really deserving students to take all the

prizes, let us reserve a portion for next year.—[Page 15.] 6th May, 1836.

Clinical Examination.—I fear that an examination of this sort is a very defective test of the progress which the students may have made in a science where so much depends on quickness and accuracy of observation on natural phenomena. Still I do not know that we can devise a better test. I am not sufficiently informed on the subject to say whether, as the education of the pupils is conducted in a great measure by clinical lectures, it would be possible to test their proficiency by clinical examinations. I do not object to what is proposed.—[Page 19.] 28th July, 1836.

Private practice of the Professors.—I would put to Mr. Goodeve the question which our Secretary suggests, and if his answer be satisfactory, I would recommend that this request should be granted.

To put the salaries of the Professors on a different footing would at present be impossible. In time, the system under which the Medical and Surgical Schools of London flourish, may be introduced here. But in the infancy of the science, such an arrangement is out of the question.—[Page 43.]

Private practice of the Professors.—I quite agree. We may be certain of this that unless we pay our teachers as large a sum as they can obtain by practice, we must let them take practice or they will leave us.—[Page 48.] 4th November, 1836.

Dr. Helfer's lectures on Natural History.—I would refer this to Dr. Bramley and the other gentlemen who are at the head of the Medical College. If they wish Dr. Helfer to lecture I can have no objection. If they tell us that such a course of lectures would not at present do any good, I would decline Dr. Helfer's offer.—[Page 28.] 12th November, 1836.

Cost of each Pupil in the Medical College Rupees 36 a month in 1837.—I should be heartily glad if the number of pupils were three times as great as it is. But I see nothing discouraging in the aspect of things. We must remember that the work now in progress is no less than the introduction into a great empire of a science, the most important of all sciences to the well being of mankind. If the institution turns out twenty or even ten good native physicians or surgeons, I shall think the cost well bestowed.*—[Book I. page 63.] 30th June, 1837.

* The cost to Government, exclusive of the military pay and allowance of the covenanted Professors, for each one of the 199 students reported as the average attendance during the year 1858-59 was Rs. 60-0-8. In this statement are included the Hindustani and Bengali classes, which receive an education far less expensive than the English classes. I estimate the cost of each student in the English classes at Rupees 150 a month, exclusive of the military pay of the Professors.—H. W.

Scholarships at the Medical College from Zillah Schools.—I am exceedingly favorable to the object which Mr. Walters has in view. But I own that I would make no addition to the 56 foundation pupils. I would apply to Government, and request that on the occurring of the next vacancy among those pupils, we may be permitted to give the situation to one of the most advanced Scholars at one of our principal institutions in the Mofussil; and that on every alternate vacancy we should be permitted to do the same. But we must bestow the greatest care, as our Secretary says, in seeing that these nominations do not become jobs. Indeed, I think that it would not be amiss to send examination papers from hence on such an occasion. These, however, are points of detail. I would make an application to Government immediately; and I would strongly represent the expediency of interesting all parts of the Presidency in this great object, and the fairness of giving to distant places a share of an advantage which is now too strictly confined to Calcutta.—[Book I. page 72.] 7th August, 1837.

Further minute on the same subject.—Pupils from all parts of India are eligible already. What I proposed and what I understand to be carried is, that the Government would allow us to elect them to the alternate vacancies.—[Book I. page 77.] 17th August, 1837.

Designation and salary of passed native Students.—The only point in dispute are the name and the salary.

As to the name I prefer that of Sub-assistant Surgeon to that of Doctor. But I like neither.

As to the salary I vote for the larger salary Rupees 60, on the grounds stated by Colonel Young.—[Book I. page 97.] 24th December, 1837.

Medical College.—The Medical College Council proposed to cut the pay of Mr. MacCosh, the clinical lecturer, for a month. The Secretary, Mr. Sutherland, recommended that Mr. MacCosh should have an opportunity of defending his claim. On this Macaulay says, "There can be no harm in calling on Mr. MacCosh for any reason that he may have to give against the retrenchment.

"As to the clinical lecture I, as an ignorant man, should think the course proposed by the college council the best. I should be glad to know Sir Edward Ryan's opinion."—[Page 51.] 4th January, 1838.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR SELECTION OF MASTERS.

The Selection of a Professor.—I understood it to be resolved, and I think that it would be proper, so important a person as

the Professor should be selected by the whole Committee. I think also that there may be some objection to advertising for such a person, and I understood that the resolution to which the Sub-Committee came was in accordance with these views. The matter, however, is not of much consequence.—[Page 1.] May 1st, 1836.

In the book of the Selection of Schoolmasters.—I greatly doubt whether we can obtain a good Master for 200 Rs. ; and I should like to know more about Mr. Harris before I consent to secure his services by diminishing the salary of the person at the head of the School. I propose that the question should be referred to the Sub-Committee for the selection of School-Masters, but that the Sub-Committee should be instructed to make no arrangement, which may cause an increase of charge, without a reference to the General Committee.—[Book O. page 15.] 9th June, 1836.

Those who are at Calcutta had better attend. Of course we cannot expect people to come from a distance for a mere chance.

The Secretary had better send the applications and testimonials in circulation round the Sub-Committee, that we may meet with some knowledge of the attainments and situations of the candidates, and be able to make enquiries. [Page 8.] June 27th, 1836.

Schoolmasters' Salaries.—We shall never get such a man as Mr. Sutherland describes for 150 Rupees a month. I think it probable that the gentlemen who have taken the chief part in selecting schoolmasters may be able without again advertising to fix on a proper person.—[Page 17.] 30th August, 1836.

On the promotion of Masters.—I think that we cannot adopt this proposition. Mr. Fowles has at present, I think only 100 Rupees a month. To promote him to a salary of three times the amount seems extravagant. We have no proof that his merits are such as to entitle him to so great and rapid an increase of his pay, or that his capacity is such as to qualify him for the superintendence of a school which, on many accounts, must be considered as among the most important under our superintendence.

We ought to be always on our guard when we receive recommendations of this sort from local committees. The members of those committees naturally find it unpleasant to refuse to recommend a person who intreats them to favour his claims, and who has given them no cause of dissatisfaction. It is an ungracious thing to tell a man to his face that you will not propose him for promotion. If we do not take care we shall, whenever a head master retires, be requested by the

local committee to promote the under master to the head of the school.

The best course would perhaps be to appoint the head master of the Ghazee-pore school, who, I believe, is one of the best on our list, and who now draws only 200 Rs. a month, to the Patna school, to send Mr. Fowles to Ghazee-pore, which will be a promotion for him, and to send down to Patna some teacher to take Mr. Fowles' place. [Page 24.] 23rd November, 1836.

Travelling Expenses.—I hardly know what to propose. I wish that some gentleman better acquainted with this country than I am, would make a calculation of the *bonâ fide* expense of a journey to Saugor performed in an economical manner. I cannot believe that three times the advance to which we have agreed would be necessary for that purpose.—[Page 30.] December 14th, 1836.

Who is the clergyman at the station? Is there a local Committee? Is the clergyman a member of it? If I recollect right, the late master was dismissed for proselytising. This does not look as if the clergyman had much influence in the management of the school.

I am not aware of a fit person: perhaps some other member of the Sub-Committee may be able to suggest something.—[Page 35.] December 28th, 1836.

Selection of Masters.—The candidate gives a very good account of himself. I suppose that, as he has been employed in the public service at Chittagong, the local committee know, or can easily learn, whether he will suit. I approve of the proposition of the Secretary. [Page 46.]

I cannot say much for the gentleman. I vote against employing him.

I am glad that Mr. Sutherland has hit on so good a way of putting candidates to the test. [Page 52.]

I cannot say much for the show which the candidates make at these examinations. Instead of asking Mr. ——— questions in history, the best course would perhaps have been one which Dean Milner is said to have taken with a very ignorant man at Cambridge, to give him a little scrap of paper, and desire him to write all that he knew. Mr. ——— is better, however, than Mr. ———; and, though very hesitatingly, I am inclined to accede to Mr. Sutherland's proposition.—[Page 56.] June 28th, 1837.

I have nobody to propose. Certainly I would select no person whom the local Committee think unfit.—[Page 57.]

I should be very unwilling to set aside a candidate solely on account of his religious scruples about the Sunday. But the

other objections mentioned by the local Committee seem to be decisive: and, even if they were not so, I think that we can expect little good from a school, of which the master is forced on the Local Committee, and is personally disagreeable to them.

I agree with Mr. Sutherland. But I should wish the examination not to be altogether confined to Arithmetic and Mathematics. A few simple questions in History and Geography should also be asked.

On looking again at what Mr. Sutherland proposed, I see that he intends to examine Mr. * * * in literature. This is quite proper.

Certainly, as Mr. Sutherland says, this is far from a great performance, yet I really think it above par. The young man seems to have a general notion of ancient and modern history; and as to his mistaking Argos for Corinth, and sending Crassus to Spain instead of Syria, I am afraid that we must wait long for masters, if we wait for gentlemen who will commit no such mistakes.

I should like to be satisfied that he can perform and teach the common operations of arithmetic, then I would certainly engage him.

Mr. B. perhaps is not quite equal to Mr. F. But I think that, in the present state of the market, he may pass muster.

Mr. ———'s letter asking for re-examination.—Mr. Sutherland has some reason to complain. I would certainly not ask him to examine every rejected candidate a few days after rejection, 18th July, 1837.

When Mr. Sutherland was called on to examine men too frequently, he says—

“I submit, but without grumbling that the frequency of examinations would press hard on me.”

I agree with Mr. Sutherland, except that I am not quite clear about the expediency of sending Mr. Montague to Chit-tagong. Ajmere, I think, is not filled up. And I should imagine that to be the more important station. But others are better judges than I am on that subject.

Necessity of obtaining Masters from England.—We seem to be quite at a stand here. We must certainly not lose Mr. Montague. I do not see my way to any better arrangement than that which Mr. Sutherland proposes.

But I am every day more and more convinced that, as our operations extend, and as our schools multiply, it will become more and more necessary for us to take some course for procuring a regular supply of good masters from England. At present we are forced to put up with the leavings of every other trade and profession. A missionary who becomes tired

of converting, a newspaper writer who has quarrelled with the editor, a shopkeeper who has failed, a clerk in a public office who has lost his place, are the sort of people whom we are forced to look to. Even of these the supply is so limited and uncertain, that we can hardly venture to reject any man who can read, write, and work a sum. And, even when our masters chance to be people of respectable attainments, it scarcely ever happens that they have had the smallest experience in teaching. Teaching is an art to be learned by practice. I have known people of the greatest genius and learning who could teach nothing; and we have scarcely appointed a single person of whom we knew that he was experienced in the art of teaching.

I am satisfied that it will soon be found necessary to import from England, or rather from Scotland, a regular supply of masters for the Government Schools. But this subject, though brought strongly to my mind by our present embarrassment is too important to be discussed in this parenthetical manner.—26th August.

In the present state of the supply of Schoolmasters, I think Mr. Melville a decided prize, and I would on no account let him slip. I agree to what Mr. Sutherland proposes.—8th September, 1837.

I like the gentleman's performance little, and the temper which he shows still less. I have no objection however, in the great scarcity of masters, to the guarded answer which our Secretary proposes to return.—7th December, 1857.

I would give him no copies, and would have no more to say to him.

I should like to know something more about the newspaper which this person edits. What is its name? What character does it bear? and what are the general views which it takes of moral and political matters?—4th January, 1838.

Minutes of the Hooghly College. *The dismissal of Wasik Ali's claim for the curatorship of the Hooghly endowment.*—There can be no objection to communicating the state of the case to Government. But, until the great questions about which the Committee is divided have been decided by authority, nothing can be settled I apprehend, as to the constitution of the future College.—[Book-F. page 33.] 12th January, 1835.

Hooghly College.—It is to be observed that the letter received from the Government, though it directs that the Hooghly institution shall be essentially Mahomedan, declares at the same time that it was not the intention of the testator, and is not the intention of the Governor General in Council to exclude persons of other religious persuasions from the advantages which

that institution may afford. No religious instruction ought, of course, to be given except according to Mahometan principles. But lectures on general literature and general science may, of course, be attended indiscriminately by all classes.

I think therefore that we ought to consult not only the persons whom Mr. Sutherland mentions, but others more likely to give us advice as to the best mode of imparting an useful and generous education to all classes. Dr. Wise who knows Hooghly well, and whose qualifications entitle him to the highest respect, ought, in particular, to be requested to give us his counsel in the subject.—[Book F. page 61.] 16th April, 1835.

Hooghly College.—I agree to most of Mr. Sutherland's propositions, but I cannot help thinking that the plan admits of some improvement.

I have always disliked, both in England and here, the scholarship system. The Government has decided that, in those places of education which are to be completely under our direction, no such system shall exist. The Hooghly College is on a different footing, we must obey the directions of the founder, and pay due respect to his memory. But I conceive that we may do this without violating a principle which I think it of the highest importance to maintain.

I would propose that the 1,920 rupees a year which Mr. Sutherland proposes to expend in endowing ten scholarships should be employed in founding six annual prizes of 320 rupees each. Of these 320 rupees, 120 might be laid out in a gold medal bearing the founder's name. The other 200 might be paid in money. Two of these prizes I would give to the two best Arabic scholars in the College, two to the two best English scholars, and two to the two best Mathematicians. As the examinations would recur annually, the best scholars would thus have a strong motive to maintain their places, and would never be able to relax their exertions with impunity. The effect of the system proposed by Mr. Sutherland, even under the best regulations, will be, that a young man will exert himself to obtain a scholarship, and will cease to exert himself as soon as he has obtained one.

I agree with Mr. Sutherland as to the architectural question. But I should be glad to be assured that the indulgence of our taste would not cost us too much.

I venture to propose as members of the Sub-Committee of the Hooghly College Sir E. Ryan, Mr. Shakspeare, Mr. Smith, Mr. Colvin and Mr. Young.—[Book F. page 100.] 11th July, 1835.

Hooghly College.—The books may of course be sent; nor

can there be any harm in sending the globes. They will be useful hereafter, if not now ; and the institution can well afford the expense.

It must be distinctly understood that any arrangement about teachers is merely provisional.—[Book J. page 30.] December 1st, 1835.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE HOOGHLY COLLEGE.

The first Scheme proposed for the organization of the Hooghly College.—I now wish to state what appear to me to be the best arrangements for rendering the Hooghly fund as extensively useful as it can be made, compatibly with the direction of Government and with the intentions of the founder.

The Mahomedan department must of course be kept up in a liberal manner. Whatever encouragements, whatever facilities we give in this institution to the study of English, we are bound also to give to the study of Arabic. If we act otherwise we shall be guilty of a gross violation of the founder's will ; we shall give just cause of discontent to the Mahomedan population ; and we shall discourage wealthy natives of all persuasions from making similar dispositions of their property.

I am not competent to frame a plan for the Mahomedan department of the College. I have therefore begged Mr. Shakespear to furnish a sketch of what he thinks desirable.

In the English College there ought, I think, to be two professors : a professor of English literature and a professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The professor of English literature ought to be a person competent to direct the studies of young men who are able to read our language with facility, to advise them as to the choice of books, to correct their crude opinions, to accustom them to write English in a manly and unaffected style. The professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy ought to be, if possible, a person of extensive acquirements. At all events he ought to know accurately whatever he knows.

Under these two professors, there must be masters capable of teaching the elements of English, the common rules of arithmetic, and a little geography.

One of the two professors ought to be Principal of the College with a general power to superintend the discipline of the whole institution, Oriental as well as English. He would of course be subject to our control, and, if it should be thought advisable, we might appoint some of the English functionaries at Hooghly to visit the College as our deputies. I doubt, however, whether it would be expedient to delegate our power over an establishment situated so near to Calcutta ; and at all

events, I would give no authority over this College or over any of our Colleges to a Collector or a Judge merely because he is a Collector or a Judge. Such an officer may be incompetent; he may be indifferent; he may be adverse. When we repose such a confidence, we ought to repose it in the man, not in the office.

I think that each of the Professors should receive 500 Rs.* per mensem, and that they should also be lodged in the College. One master with 200 Rupees and three under masters with 100 Rs. each, would suffice for the English department.

It is hardly necessary to say that I would open this school to pupils of every nation and religion without distinction.

Dr. Wise is strongly of opinion that we ought to establish stipends, or, as he calls them, bursaries. I regret that I cannot agree with him on this point. I must own, however, that at Hooghly the stipendiary system is not so objectionable as it would be at Patna, at Dacca, or at any other place where there is a school supported by our general fund. We have for the education of the people of this vast empire a fixed sum, which is very small compared with what the object requires. If we pay students at one place, we must refuse to pay masters at some other place. The funds of the Hooghly College are not part of our general resources. We cannot with propriety lay them out in setting up schools in Assam or the Dooab. After paying professors and masters in the most liberal manner, a large sum will still remain at our disposal. If therefore it should appear that any advantage is likely to follow from establishing stipends, there is no counterbalancing consideration of economy to be set off against that advantage.

I am strongly opposed to the stipendiary system, not merely in the form in which it has existed in the Sanscrit College and the Madrussa, where indeed it wore its most offensive shape, but even in the modified form in which some of our body wish to see it introduced into our new schools. At the same time I should not at all object to giving several annual pecuniary prizes of such amount that they would enable the successful student who might gain them to subsist comfortably during the next year. If he continued to exert himself, he would probably again obtain the prize. If he became idle, others would wrest it from him at the next annual examination. This course would, as it appears to me, produce all the good

* The Honorable H. Shakespear, Sir E. Ryan and Mr. Smith proposed that one of the professors should be Principal and receive Rs. 800 a month. Mr. C. Trevelyan and Col. Young proposed Rs. 600, and that the salaries of the English Staff should be increased. Free quarters were unanimously assigned to the Principal.

and scarcely any of the harm which is the effect of the stipendiary system. It would excite the students to vigorous exertion. It would not tempt them to lie down in idleness after success. The best students would remain longest at the college and would be most thoroughly imbued with western literature and science.

I propose that we should annually give two prizes of 300 Rupees each, the one to the student who should distinguish himself most in English literature, the other to the best mathematician. I would give three inferior prizes of 200 Rupees in the literary department, and as many in the mathematical and scientific department.

The expense of the English College, on this plan would be as follows :—

Professor of English literature,	6,000 Rs. a year.
----- Mathematics, &c.	6,000 " "
Master and Under masters,	6,000 " "
Prizes,	1,800 " "
	<hr/>
	19,800 Rs. a year.

Something must be allowed for books, stationery, &c. But the whole charge of this part of the establishment may be brought, I conceive, within 22,000 Rs. per annum. If we allow an equal sum for the Mahomedan College; the whole amount expended on the institution will be 44,000 Rs. per annum. And 10,000 Rs. per annum will be still at our disposal.

If what I now propose should be approved by the committee, I shall be prepared to suggest a mode of employing the surplus.

I omitted to say that it seems to me quite unnecessary to defer our operations till the college is built. I am assured that excellent accommodation may easily be procured at Hooghly, and I hope that our masters may be appointed and our schools opened in a very few months.—[Page 9.] 12th April.

Appointment of Dr. Wise as Principal on Rs. 600 a month.—I collect from the letter now circulated that Dr. Wise actually is Secretary with a kind of pledge that he shall hereafter have the superintendence of the Institution. He was appointed by Government on the recommendation of the Committee, and can only be removed by the Government.

I do not see how we can with propriety recommend that he should be deprived of his present office or of his present salary. We have no ground whatever of complaint against him, and his place has been no sinecure.

It seems to me therefore that, whether we make Dr. Wise

Principal or not, he must still draw his present salary of 300 rupees a month. If we were to make him Principal allowing him to retain his practice we should obtain his services for 600 Rupees a month, that is to say, for 300 Rupees a month more than we now pay him. If on account of this difficulty about his practice, we take another Principal, we must pay that Principal 600 Rupees a month, and Dr. Wise's 300 Rupees a month will still be charged to the Institution.

I doubt whether we are likely to find so good a Principal as Dr. Wise. At all events it is certain that we shall find none so cheap. The question then is—Does his medical practice require so much of his time that there is an insurmountable objection to his retaining it with a professorship? I own that I think not. The inconvenience will be slight. The saving will be large. Besides, there must be a medical man to attend the hospital attached to the institution. If we employ Dr. Wise as Principal, his services will of course be given gratuitously to the hospital; and, though there may be no regular system of medical education, the Mahomedan youths, who all love to pick up a smattering of physic, will learn something which may at least keep them from poisoning, if it does not enable them to cure.

On the whole I would at once propose Dr. Wise to the General Committee as Principal without requiring him to give up his practice.—[Page 20.] 7th May, 1836.

"*Mummeries of Heraldry.*"—I agree with Mr. Sutherland on almost every point. I could wish that means could be found to avert the necessity of closing the College against new applicants.

I think that we might with advantage insert after the 10th paragraph, some such paragraph as this.

"The attention of the Committee has lately been drawn to the extreme inconvenience which in several of the institutions under their care has arisen from the number of holidays. They are desirous to provide against this evil in the Hooghly College at first setting out, as it is one of those evils which it is far easier to prevent than to remedy. They therefore request that you will take this subject into immediate consideration, and submit to them as soon as possible what you have to propose."

I quite agree with Mr. Sutherland about the arms. Indeed I do not see why the Mummeries of European heraldry should be introduced into any part of our Indian system. Heraldry is not a science which has any eternal rules. It is a system of arbitrary canons, originating in pure caprice. Nothing can be more absurd and grotesque than armorial bearings, considered in themselves. Certain recollections, certain associations make

them interesting in many cases to an Englishman. But in those recollections and associations the natives of India do not participate. A lion rampart with a folio in his paw, with a man standing on each side of him, with a telescope over his head, and with a Persian motto under his feet must seem to them either very mysterious or very absurd.

I should have thought too that rigid Mahomedans would have entertained religious objections to the proposed device. But on this point other gentlemen are better qualified to judge.

I quite approve of the plan of going to Hooghly, though I will not promise to go myself. Will Sir Edward Ryan fix a day?—[Page 33.] 22nd August, 1836.

Holidays.—I see that the question of holidays has already been settled, and, as I think, in a proper manner. What I proposed on that subject is therefore unnecessary.—[Page 36.]

Stipendiary school boys of 30 years old.—If ever there was a place of education in which stipends were evidently useless, that place is the Hooghly College. We have a greater number of pupils thronging thither than we can find buildings to hold or masters to teach, and yet it is proposed that we should offer bounties to bring in others. As to those who are receiving stipends, I feel some doubt. That men of thirty and thirty-five should be supported in this way seems very absurd, and still more when we find that these have large families, which are subsisting on the funds designed for education. As to the plea of poverty, it will never be wanting under such a system. We make these people helpless beggars by our imprudent relief. Look at No. 10 for example. He has been living on a stipend eleven years. He is near thirty, and we are told that he will not have completed his education for four years to come. Moghal Jan, again (No. 1) is near thirty. He has been paid to learn something during twelve years, we are told that he is lazy and stupid. But there are hopes that in four years more he may have completed his course of study.

We have had quite enough of these lazy, stupid, school-boys of thirty. I would tell Dr. Wise that his proposal cannot be listened to. As to the existing students, I would at once strike off all but the four whom Dr. Wise proposes to retain; and those I would allow to remain on the list only as matter of charity. I would let No. 5 who is 30, draw his stipend for two years, and the others who are younger, but all above 20, for three years, and then I would have done with the stipendiary system for ever.—[Page 40.] 9th September, 1836. .

Concerning the purchase of ground for building a College.—We are greatly obliged to our Secretary and to Mr. Trevelyan

for their exertions and for their interesting report. I quite approve of what they suggest as to the internal arrangement of the school and the providing of new masters. Masters should be selected with as little delay as possible.

There is little hope that we shall be able to obtain the barracks. We must therefore think of building, and here I would recommend that we should neither build nor clear any land for building, till we have purchased all the ground that we shall want. For if we begin to build before we have bought all the land, we shall find that the price will rise enormously, as the proprietors will know that they have us at their mercy; and I fear that the Hooghly College, being a private endowment, will not be considered by the Government as one of those public works for which individuals may be compelled to give up their land at a valuation.

I approve of what is suggested with respect to the visitation of the College, and I do not object to the proposed name.—[Page 44.] 16th September, 1836.

Persian writing master.—I shall not object if Mr. Shakespear and Mr. Smith think that this master is wanted and that the proposed remuneration is reasonable. I should not have thought that the scientific drawings of a native of this country were likely to be of any value.—[Page 48.]

Lodgings and food for students not to be given by the College.—I am against sanctioning the huts and against building dormitories for poor students. Dr. Wise does not in the least understand our views on these points. I would recommend that he should be distinctly informed that we mean to give instruction gratis, that every rupee laid out in building huts for students or giving food to students is a rupee withdrawn from more useful purposes, and that we desire that he will on no occasion depart from this rule without reference to us.—[Page 50.]

College libraries should be open to the public.—Dr. Wise's rules seem to have been in the main judiciously framed on the principles laid down by us. With respect to the plan of making our College libraries, circulating libraries, there is much to be said on both sides. If a proper subscription is demanded from those who have access to these libraries, and if all that is raised by this subscription is laid out in adding to the libraries, the students will be no losers by the plan. I should think also that such a system would be beneficial, as it would connect our schools with the best part of the English society at the Mofussil stations. Our libraries, the best of them at least, would be better than any library which would be readily accessible at such a station; and I do not know why

we should grudge a young officer the pleasure of reading our copy of Boswell's Life of Johnson, or Marmontel's Memoirs, if he is willing to pay a few rupees for the privilege.

I will not object to the principle of this part of Dr. Wise's plan. But I do object to his proposal that these subscribers shall subscribe according to their circumstances. I would proceed on this principle, that the object for which the library is established is the good of the students, and that no person should be permitted to take any book thence unless the students receive from that person a compensation fully equal to the loss which they sustain by being temporarily deprived of that book. I would certainly not fix the subscription at less than 1 rupee a month for any body; and I think that every thing raised in this way should be expended in adding to the library.—[Page 54.] 29th October, 1836.

Maulvis' place for prayer.—What are the objections to allowing the Maulvis to meet for prayer within the College? I think that we can hardly refuse both to suffer them to meet there and to supply them with another place where they may meet, the character of the institution considered. Mr. Sutherland's remarks seem to me generally quite just, except that I do not attach so much importance as he appears to do to the projection of maps, an accomplishment which depends chiefly on manual dexterity, and without which a student may be an excellent geographer.—[Page 62.] 7th November, 1836.

I propose that we should strike off the list of stipendiary students all but the four whom Dr. Wise formerly wished should keep their present stipends for three years and no longer. At the expiration of that period the practice of giving stipends ought to cease altogether.—[Page 74.] 12th November, 1836.

Examiner for the Hooghly College.—Where is a competent person to be found? I shall be heartily glad if any gentleman can suggest one.—[Page 79.] 1st December, 1836.

Purchase of Perron's House at Chinsurah.—Nay, I think that we never expected to obtain the house for less than 16,000 Rs. and if I am rightly informed we may, with perfect prudence, authorise Dr. Wise to go as far as 20,000.—[Page 83.] 27th December, 1836.

Suggestions by Mr. Walters and Mr. Samuels.—We are much obliged to Mr. Walters and Mr. Samuels for the trouble which they have taken and for the suggestions which they have offered. To the first proposition, the addition of 45 Rupees a month to the salary of the master of the infant school, I do not object. I am also quite for discharging the useless Pundits. The founder of the college cannot be supposed to have had

any particular bias in favour of Brahminical learning. We are therefore perfectly at liberty to deal with that part of the establishment in the manner which may appear to us most useful.

The second proposition (to buy Perron's house) has already been adopted by the Committee.

I have great doubts about the third proposition, (to establish branch schools in the villages). The advantages of adopting it on a small scale are not very obvious: and we have not money sufficient to defray the expense of adopting it on the large scale recommended by Mr. Walters.

The fourth proposition (to establish stipends) has been repeatedly under our consideration. My opinion about it remains unchanged. I altogether dissent from Mr. Walters's proposition about religious books, I would not of course keep from the pupils a book which, on other grounds, they ought to read, merely because it contained information respecting the Christian religion. I would not keep *Paradise Lost* or *Cowper's Task*, or *Robinson Crusoe's Dialogues* with his man Friday out of their hands. But I would not in any school give them books with the object of making converts of the students, and least of all would I do so in a school founded by a zealous Mahomedan, who assuredly would have taken good care to prevent any such use of his money being made, if he could have foreseen it.

As to the last suggestion of Mr. Walters, (to invite tenders for the supply of school books) if it ought to be adopted with respect to the Hooghly College, it ought also to be adopted with respect to all our institutions. Perhaps the whole question had better be referred to the Sub-Committee of school-books or the Sub-Committee of Finance. The latter Sub-Committee, I think, is that to which it seems naturally to belong.—[Page 86.] 10th January, 1837.

What knowledge of the Vernacular is "absolutely requisite."—Mr. Sutherland seems to me to have a little misunderstood Dr. Wise. The Doctor does not say that a mere colloquial smattering of Bengali is all that is required. He says it is all that is *absolutely requisite*: and goes on to add that instruction is given, composition practised, and prizes held out in order to induce the higher classes to acquire a critical knowledge of the Vernacular tongue. By "*absolutely requisite*" he seems evidently to mean requisite for purposes of common life, for the purpose of giving orders to the servants, of inquiring the way, of buying and selling in the bazaar, and so forth.

As to the library, I think that we may expect to receive the books which we ordered from England in the course of a very few months.

The disbursements recommended may be sanctioned.—
[Page 96.] 20th January, 1837.

Professors' Duties.—I should think that in a very few months both Dr. Wise and Mr. Sutherland would find the number of advanced pupils quite sufficient to employ them during at least 4 hours in the day. I would rather wait a little, than propose at present the arrangement which our Secretary suggests. If it should be found that, at the end of another half year, Mr. Sutherland has no more to do than at present, I shall be disposed to make some addition to his duties.—[Page 99.] 20th January, 1837.

Offer of Rs. 30,000 for Perron's house.—I cannot agree with Mr. Sutherland. I would give the 30,000 rupees at once, and obtain the house. If we should find that the house will do for our college, we shall save ten times 30,000 rupees, for we shall not build a new one for less than three lacs. If on the other hand, we should determine to build, we shall always be able to part with the house for a price not much smaller than that which is now asked for it, and we shall have the use of it rent-free while we are building.

This arrangement cannot be productive of loss to us. It may be productive of very great gain. I would therefore authorise Dr. Wise to offer the 30,000 rupee, and to declare that it is our last word, and that we will not give an anna more.—[Page 100.] 25th January, 1837.

The Library.—I quite approve of what Dr. Wise proposes. I do not think that we need be anxious about the cost. The funds of the Hooghly Collego will bear a much greater outlay than will be necessary for the procuring of these books. And the sooner the students have a tolerable library the better.—[Page 105.] 1st March, 1837.

Purchase of Perron's House for Rupees 20,000.—I quite agree with Mr. Sutherland. I would close instantly with the offer.—[Page 108.] 21st March, 1837.

Sanction for Pankahs and Pankah Pullers.—I approve. I would make them physically as comfortable as possible while they are studying.—[Page 112.] 6th April, 1837.

Morning school during the hot months.—I agree with Mr. Sutherland in disliking the shifting of hours generally. But in this climate, the health and comfort of the students may render such a course necessary. Even in England school hours are generally earlier in summer than in winter. I am inclined to agree to Dr. Wise's proposition.—[Page 113.] 6th April, 1837.

Good salaries for Teachers essential.—I would give the Rs. 120. It is desirable not merely to keep good masters, but to prevent

them from being always on the look out for better situations. I would try to give them such salaries that they may settle down to their employment as one which is to be the business of their lives. Otherwise we shall have nothing but change. We shall lose every master as soon as he has acquired experience and established a character; and shall have a constant succession of teachers who will themselves be learners. At some of our institutions want of means prevents us from doing all that could be wished. But at Hooghly we are quite able to do all that is necessary to make the system of instruction efficient.—[Page 116.] 24th April, 1837.

Proposal that pupils should purchase their school-books.—The subject is full of difficulties. Nothing can be proposed which is not open to objection; and there seems to be as little objection to Mr. Sutherland's proposal as to any other.—[Page 118.] 29th April, 1837.

Purchase of Philosophical Apparatus.—I approve. I wish that some of our scientific members would look at the models before we buy them.—[Page 120.] 2nd May, 1837.

Periodicals in the College Library.—I do not see Dr. Wise's letter. I am rather inclined to vote against the proposition as far as I at present understand it. How many boys at the Hooghly College will for a long time to come read the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews with any interest? The Principal and the Professor are probably the only persons in the Institution who would ever cut such works open. And we must never forget that we are forming libraries not for the English professors, but for the native students.—[Page 121.] 4th May, 1837.

A Puudit for the Judge's Court at Hooghly.—I have no objection. But the office of recommending people who are to bear a part in the administration of justice is an important one. I think that some testimonials ought to be laid before us; and that we ought not to let the matter pass as one of mere form.—[Book M. page 119.] 19th May, 1837.

Proposal to grant a pension of Rs. 25 monthly to the family of Mahomud Soluman, late Principal of the Madrassa.—I really feel great doubts about this matter. The salary of the Maulvie would surely have enabled him to make some provision for his family; and I am certain that, if we provide for his wife and children, no other Maulvie in the College will think of laying by anything. And I should fear that the evil would spread to other institutions. I own that I cannot satisfy myself as to the propriety of acceding to this request.—[Page 131.] 26th May, 1837.

Family Pensions.—I would certainly rather give a donation

than a pension. But, though it is exceedingly unpleasant to me to take the harsh side on such occasions, I really cannot see sufficient ground for what is proposed. Where are we to stop if once we begin? And what assurance have we that the greater part of our funds may not, if once the principle be recognized, be diverted from purposes of education and expended on the wives and children of our school masters.—[Page 134.] 5th June, 1837.

Proposal to establish ten pupil teacherships.—I am against what is proposed. The effect of adopting the proposition would be either to stop the progress of the best students, or to provide the lower classes with bad masters. If any but the very best are selected to teach, the business of teaching will be ill-performed. If the best are selected, their education is at an end. Just imagine what would be the effect in England of selecting all the best scholars of a public school, and at the time when they would be leaving school for the university making them ushers, and condemning them to pass their time in teaching “musa, musæ,” and “amo, amas, amat” to the boys of the lowest form. No system could be devised more certain to stunt the minds of boys at the very time of life at which their minds might be expected to develope themselves most rapidly.

If we were absolutely in want of funds, there might be some excuse for such a measure. But there will not be the smallest difficulty in providing additional teachers, if additional teachers are wanted. And surely it is much better to appoint such teachers, than to divert the attention of the most intelligent young men in the college from their own studies, and to employ them in the uninteresting drudgery of teaching the first elements to children.

I am a little inclined to think that this is an attempt to introduce into the college, under a disguise, that stipendiary system which the Government and the Committee have condemned, but to which Dr. Wise, like many other highly respectable persons, seems to cling with extraordinary fondness. Be this as it may, I vote against the proposition.—[Page 138.] 28th June, 1837.

The establishment of a Branch School at Hooghly supported by Mahomed Moshin's endowment is desired by the people of Hooghly.—Then I would have such a school. We have ample funds; and as far as I properly can, I wish to comply with the inclinations of the people of Hooghly.—[Book N. page 106.] 18th July, 1837.

Commencement of the long discussions about the purchase of General Perron's house at Chinsurah for the college of Mahomed

Moshin.—Of course we must not run any risk. But I never saw an attorney's letter which had more the look of being written in support of an idle vamped up claim. We had better ask the visitors whether they know anything about the business. In the mean time, of course, we must do nothing.—[Book L. page 139.] 2nd August, 1837.

About the purchase of General Perron's house for the college of Mahomed Moshin.—I am very little acquainted with these matters. I should have thought that the conveyance ought to be to the Government, which is the representative of the founder, and from whose authority ours is derived. But I submit my judgment to that of more experienced people.—[Book L. page 154.] 11th August, 1837.

Russel's Modern Europe.—Russel's is one of those bad books which keep their ground for want of a better. I have no objection to what Mr. Sutherland proposes. What he says of the Poetical Miscellany reminds me of a proposition respecting a Prose Miscellany which I shall take an early opportunity of submitting to the Committee.—[Page 150.] 26th August, 1837.

Frankissen Seal's house at Chinsurah.—Certainly against an opinion so well entitled to consideration as Mr. Sutherland's, I cannot venture to recommend the purchase. I wish that we could procure a copy of the petition, and also that we could learn when the case is likely to be disposed of by the Sudder Dewany Adawlut.—[Page 159.] 4th October, 1837.

MINUTE BY MR. MACAULAY.

2d February, 1835.

1 As it seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction, that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813, and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the adverse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a member of the Council of India.

2 It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can, by any art of construction, be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart 'for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.' It is argued,

or rather taken for granted, that by literature, the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit literature, that they never would have given the honorable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the Metaphysics of Locke, and the Physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case; suppose that the Pacha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose of 'reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt,' would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his pachalic to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency, if, instead of employing his young subjects in deciphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys.

3 The words on which the supporters of the old system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lac of Rupees is set apart, not only for 'reviving literature in India,' the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also for 'the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories,'—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

4 If the Council agree in my construction, no legislative Act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will prepare a short Act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813, from which the difficulty arises.

5 The argument which I have been considering, affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit, would be down-right spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from

the public purse for the encouragement of literature differed in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there, if the result should not answer our expectation? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth imparting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the Government has given to any person a formal assurance; nay, if the Government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests—I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instructions, from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed. But had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-pox: would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises, of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release; these vested rights, which vest in nobody; this property without proprietors; this robbery, which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine.—I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

6 I hold this lac of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of promoting learning in India, in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold his Lordship to be quite as free to direct

that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit, as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral.

7 We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

8 All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India, contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

9 What then shall that language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

10 I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic.—But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

11 It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be

found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

12. How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the west. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

13. The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can

patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier,—Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,—History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,—and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

14 We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society,—of prejudices overthrown,—of knowledge diffused,—of taste purified,—of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

15 The first instance to which I refer, is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and Romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments,—in History, for example, I am certain that it is much less so.

16 Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities.—I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class, abounding with persons fit to serve the state in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire, which in the time of our grandfathers was probably behind the Punjab, may, in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected?

Not by flattering national prejudices : not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old woman's stories which his rude fathers had believed : not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas : not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th of September : not by calling him 'a learned native,' when he has mastered all these points of knowledge : but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

17 And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching Sanscrit and Arabic.

18 I can by no means admit that when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary, however, to say any thing on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither,—we are withholding from them the learning for which they are craving, we are forcing on them the mock-learning which they nauseate.

19 This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students, while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh the undisputed fact, that we cannot find, in all our vast empire, a single student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him.

20 I have now before me the accounts of the Madrassa for one month,—the month of December, 1833. The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On the other side of the account stands the following item: Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June and July last, 103 rupees.

2¹ I have been told that it is merely from want of local experience that I am surprised at these phenomena, and that it is not the fashion for students in India to study at their own charges. This only confirms me in my opinion. Nothing is more certain than that it never can in any part of the world be necessary to pay men for doing what they think pleasant and profitable. India is no exception to this rule. The people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they are hungry, or for wearing woollen cloth in the cold season. To come nearer to the case before us, the children who learn their letters and a little elementary Arithmetic from the village school-master are not paid by him. He is paid for teaching them. Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages, the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

2² Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the Committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years; that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo literature and science; that they had received certificates of proficiency: and what is the fruit of all this! 'Notwithstanding such testimonials,' they say, 'we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your Honorable Committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them.' They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor General for places under the Government, not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. 'We want means,' they say, 'for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood.' They conclude by representing, very pathetically, that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

2³ I have been used to see petitions to Government for compensation. All these petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained—that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis,—for having been supported

by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They represent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might, with advantage, have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable; surely, men may be brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours at a somewhat smaller charge to the state. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add fresh difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false taste and false philosophy.

By acting thus we create the very evil which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find. What we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth; it is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error. It goes to form a nest, not merely of helpless place-hunters, but of bigots prompted alike by passion and by interest to raise a cry against every useful scheme of education. If there should be any opposition among the natives to the change which I recommend, that opposition will be the effect of our own system. It will be headed by persons supported by our stipends and trained in our colleges. The longer we persevere in our present course, the more formidable will that opposition be. It will be every year reinforced by recruits whom we are paying. From the native society left to itself, we have no difficulties to apprehend; all the murmuring will come from that oriental interest which we have, by artificial means, called into being, and nursed into strength.

There is yet another fact, which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries, or rather the lumber-rooms, of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some por-

tion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, I should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years, about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books, during those three years, has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the mean time the School-book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing, but realises a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay.

The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahomedan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the code is promulgated, the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Moonsiff or Sudder Ameen. I hope and trust that before the boys who are now entering at the Madrassa and the Sanscrit college have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.

But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are, on that account, entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably and decently bribe men out of the revenues of the state to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the

Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning, that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this; but they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling book education. They assume it as undeniable, that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains, sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit college, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate, not unhappily, the compositions of the best Greek Authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles, ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton.

To sum up what I have said, I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

10 In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

11 I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books, I would abolish the Madrasa and the Sanscrit college at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit college at Benares and the Mahomedan college at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo college at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught.

12 If the decision of his Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there—I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting public money, for printing

books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank ; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology ; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that when they have received it they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body, which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

ON THE RISE, PROGRESS AND OBJECTS OF THE FREE
CHURCH INSTITUTION IN CALCUTTA,

BY

BABOO HARASHUNKER DUTT.

* * * * *

The circumstances which gave rise to the establishment of the Institution being now buried in oblivion, the following brief statements (chiefly taken from printed records) appear desirable before entering into the main subject.

About the commencement of the 19th century, the Protestant churches which had long been reposing in the profoundest calm after the Reformation, began to awake from their lethargy. The Church of Scotland, whose philanthropy had so long been confined to the nation itself, began now to extend it abroad. The idea was gradually, without previous communication, springing up in the minds of many individuals in distant parts of the kingdom, that the Church of Scotland in her "collective corporate capacity as a national Church" ought to embark in the great cause of Missions. At length

ministers began to speak out in their official capacity in the lower Church Courts, some of these were actuated to make overtures on the subject to the General Assembly "the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature," when a favorable train was thus preparing in Great Britain, an energetic Memorial in December 1823 from the Rev. Dr. Bryce, then Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland at Fort William, attracted attention towards India "as a promising field for spiritual warfare" and in May 1824, Dr. Inglis, a man unrivalled in mental endowments stood forth in the General Assembly formally to propose that the church should organize a mission in heathen lands. All the objections raised against this proposal being refuted, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, officially recognized and recorded their solemn conviction that it was a duty which they owed to God, as well as to their fellow creatures, to engage without delay in aiding those efforts, which aimed at the universal propagation of the gospel. In order to carry out into effect the views of the Assembly, it recommended to all Ministers of parishes, churches and chapels, and to the members of the church generally, that they should use their best exertions to promote the sacred cause in which the church had resolved to engage, by subscriptions, collections, contributions, &c., in order to institute and support seminaries for education of various grades "as instruments in removing deep-rooted prejudices, in preparing the mind to comprehend the sublime discoveries of Christianity, and above all in rearing a body of qualified natives who would serve as teachers and preachers in the work of emancipating their fellow-countrymen from the yoke of spiritual thralldom." It was also resolved that a central or collegiate institution should be established for communicating a knowledge of the higher branches of literature, science and Christian theology. The views of the Assembly having been settled, it was necessary to select a man most efficient in carrying out their views with success. In 1829 the Rev. A. Duff (now Dr. Duff) the fittest man for this important task, was accordingly nominated, and deputed to India, as the first Missionary of the Church of Scotland "in its corporate national capacity." After various difficulties, disasters and losses by shipwreck, the missionary hero arrived at Calcutta about the end of May 1830. On reaching the scene of his future labour, he was received with cordiality by the Missionaries and other Christian gentlemen of all denominations, but with indifference by those whose welfare he came to seek.

The first step taken by him was to enquire into the then existing state of things, with a view to determine, where and how were his operations to be commenced? Notwithstanding the

variety of difficulties which arose against his personal inspection and inquiry from the unfriendliness of the season, and his ignorance of the country, he still resolved to make the attempt. Acquaintance of all from whom any useful information could be gleaned was sought. With this view, frequent interviews were obtained with many of the principal officials of literary, benevolent, and religious societies, much information was also received from some of the late Hon'ble East India Company's Civil and Military Servants, who had not only been long in India, but on account of public duty had been stationed successively throughout many of its widely scattered provinces. In these and other ways, and by visiting the Missionary Institutions existing at the time, the Rev. Mr. Duff had soon seen and learnt much of the opinions, habits and practices of the lower classes of the natives. From the very first too he had also courted the society of the wealthy, influential and learned classes of the natives and thus he succeeded in obtaining at a very early period a tolerable insight into their habitudes, mental and moral. The materials thus collected were highly calculated to guide him in the formation and execution of his plans, which aimed at Indian enlightenment.

The next object was to select a place for the proposed collegiate Institution though not in Calcutta, yet within such a distance from it as to admit of occasional visits by European residents of the city or its vicinity. After fruitless search in different districts around Calcutta, it was found that no place in the Mofussil entirely suited the views as expressed in the Assembly's report; either the population was found to be too scattered for concentrated effort, or not of a description to admit of being readily stimulated to the pursuit of higher branches of study without the protracted preparatory labour of years; or no premises for residence and class rooms could be had without building at a considerable expense, and after all incurring the hazard of a doubtful experiment, or lastly the most eligible situations were found to be pre-occupied by the Missionaries of other denominations.

Besides, all inquiries confirmed that Calcutta itself supplied by far the most promising field for the centre of future operations. For the advantages of the press, the ease experienced in convening assemblies for public discussions and address, and a "belief in the civic populace being free from most of all those prejudices which abound in a rural population," and for such other reasons, it was decided that Calcutta itself and not any other place in the interior ought at once to be fixed as the permanent site of the proposed Central Institution, and this decision was duly announced to, and eventually approved of by,

the Home authorities. The progress of every year has since convinced all, that the choice was the best that could be made.

The site of the Institution having been fixed, the next point to be determined was, the mode of procedure. The primary object had been to establish at once a central institution for communicating a knowledge of the higher branches of literature, science and theology. In order to be qualified to enter such an institution, a considerable amount of preliminary instruction would be indispensable. Before therefore proposing to hire, far less to buy or erect, buildings containing suitable accommodation for class and lecture rooms, it was deemed expedient to ascertain the probability of obtaining a reasonable number of pupils who had already acquired the preparatory education. The result of the inquiry was most unsatisfactory and discouraging; for none who were qualified, were willing to enter the Institution, though there were many willing but not qualified. Those trained in the Hindu College and other seminaries were not disposed to cross the threshold of an Institution where they had to "moralize and religionize as well as geometrize." These and other reasons compelled him to abandon the scheme of starting at once with a higher or Collegiate Institution.

Failing in the original scheme, it was now resolved to open one or more elementary schools to ensure the regular preparation of a sufficient number of young men who might be at once qualified and willing to enter upon a higher course. The attention having now been turned exclusively in the first instance to elementary schools, the question was of what description these should be, and on what footing established? Bengali being the vernacular dialect of the province the first idea naturally was to institute a series of Bengali schools, and with the view of accomplishing this end, the benevolent Doctor repeatedly traversed almost every street and lane of Calcutta. In the Bengali schools established by Missionaries he found there was such a rapid succession of pupils that little or no substantial knowledge of any kind could possibly be conveyed, "the greater part remaining only a few months, several a twelvemonth, the merest fraction a year and a half, scarcely any more than two years." The causes of this invariable practice are well known. The Brahmins taught their own sons and those of their Brahmin neighbours Bengali and Sanskrit, and natives of rank and wealth had their male children initiated by Brahmin tutors into the elements of the Bengali language in their own houses. Neither of these classes would be induced on any consideration to attend a common Bengali school established and superintended by a Christian Missionary. As for the mid-

dle classes they would hire an illiterate sircar as tutor to their sons. Of this description of schools originated and supported by natives themselves, it had been ascertained by the school society that there were at that time about two hundred in Calcutta.

It occurred to Dr. Duff that one of two things might be done, either patronage might be extended to a number of these indigenous schools with a view of improving them, or new schools might be established on an independent footing. The former course had been already adopted with considerable success by the school society. But it was on the principle of perfect noninterference in the subject of religion. From the very nature and constitution of those indigenous schools, it was at once apparent that a Missionary would find it next to impossible to engraft Christianity upon them, by introducing either Christian books or Christian Masters or even Christian knowledge by means of oral instruction without books. It did not therefore appear to Dr. Duff as a Christian Missionary that he was warranted to support or take charge of any such schools.

The other alternative was to establish a few independent Bengali schools taught after a Christian manner. But then the question was "Who would attend such schools, and what probable prospect did they hold out towards the accomplishment of the missionary end?" The sons of Brahmins and those of the higher and wealthier classes of the Sudras, could not be expected to attend. In short, those who could afford to pay for instruction at their own houses would never come. Then, who would attend? Those usually came to the Mission schools who were too poor to pay the trifle in their own. They came therefore simply and solely to obtain gratuitously that which they would in preference seek for in their own, if they could afford to pay for it, and having once obtained all that they sought for, which was in general nothing more than the most meagre of acquisitions, the art of writing the alphabet and figures, the ability even to read being what very few cared for, off they went in quick succession without ceremony and without even returning thanks for the boon conferred, and were heard of no more.

The fact was the pupils of the Bengali Mission schools were children of men of a very inferior grade in society, who, from the very circumstances in which they were placed, had no desire whatever, and in whom no arguments would create the desire to cultivate any of the higher branches of knowledge.

But even if the children of the higher classes could be prevailed on to attend Bengali mission schools, what motives could be presented to them to prosecute the study of Bengali

for any length of time? Not one. Bengali was not to them the language of their own literature, science or religion, nor of Government or jurisprudence or practical law. All the written knowledge of it ever deemed necessary was intended only for the lowest and commonest intercourse and transactions of life, social and domestic. The idea of studying it for the sake of acquiring knowledge through it as a medium, was at that early period, an idea quite foreign to the natives.

On a review of all the circumstances of the case, it was found by the the Rev. Doctor that in the then existing state of things, mere elementary Bengali mission schools would not at all answer the purpose of preparing a class of qualified pupils for entering the proposed Collegiate Institution, therefore the plan of establishing Bengali schools was totally abandoned. The choice was thus confined between the Sanskrit, the learned language of the country, and the English, the language of the rulers. The question was, which should hereafter be established as a language of learning in India. All arguments and authority seemed to preponderate in favour of the Sanskrit. The Supreme Government had decided in its favour, all learned orientalists, whose opinion had hitherto been uncontrollable law, were exclusively in its favour, and what was most silencing of all, the theory and practice of some of the oldest and most experienced missionaries in Bengal, were decided in its favour. Against such an array of authority, it seemed to all eyes to be impossible to give the preference to the English. Yet it was in the face of the highest authorities, in the face of Government enactments and learned dissertations, and the practice of Christian philanthropists, that the learned Doctor after the maturest consideration, took the resolution wholly to repudiate the Sanskrit and other learned languages of India as the best instruments of a superior education, and openly and fearlessly to proclaim the English to be the most effective medium of Indian enlightenment. Such a project was denounced by the great orientalists. They could tolerate, and as members of the Government Committee of Public Instruction, they did practically sanction one use of the English language, that is for qualifying a select number of natives to become translators of European books into the Sanskrit and other learned languages of India, which in their estimation were best calculated to enlighten the national mind. The reasons for which the Doctor gave preference to the English language are, that the Sanskrit language is not, like the English, susceptible of easy acquisition, nor supplies adequate materials for communicating a knowledge of the more advanced departments of literature, science and theology, and that "every term in that tongue" is insepar-

ably linked with some idea or sentiment or "deductions of Hinduism," so that in acquiring it, a native becomes indoctrinated to a system of superstition and idolatry, consequently by no means furthering the missionary end.

The English language as the best instrument of enlightening the nation having been decided, the question recurred, Did there exist among the natives, the desire combined with the ability to acquire a competent knowledge of it, or what probability was there of any number being able and willing to avail themselves of the offer to convey instruction through it as a chosen medium? In a city like Calcutta the supremacy of British power and influence in every department, political, judicial and commercial, naturally and necessarily tended to create a gradually increasing demand for a certain amount of English on the part of the natives, such an amount as might enable them to act the part of head servants, copyists and petty agents in the varied transactions of social life. Availing themselves of this fact, individual Missionaries had at times opened classes for instruction in English. But so soon as the young men had acquired the necessary smattering for their humble vocation, they invariably disappeared, without carrying away with them any solid or valuable attainment whatever to the disgust and mortification of the instructor and his final abandonment of so useless an employ. Accordingly when it was proposed to establish a new English seminary, the strongly expressed opinion of some of the best friends of Missions was, that the experiment would prove worse than useless. "In a year or two," said they, "all the pupils will run away." To this the Rev. Dr.'s reply was to this effect; that at a time when scarcely any native knew English, the merest smattering might have brought a good price. But the demand for such a class of native servants, assistants, and intermediate agents is not unlimited. Already, there appear to be so many in quest of employment that the market must be well stocked. By opening a new Institution we shall soon have the market overstocked. What then? surely when the number of these "smatterists or elementerists" is made to superabound, many amongst them will be forced to perceive that their only chance of securing a preference will be to acquire attainments superior to their fellows, to advance a step higher in the progressive or ascending series of intellectual acquirement, when that higher step shall have been surmounted by considerable numbers, many will feel the necessity of advancing higher still, and so upwards to the very pinnacle of that proficiency in sound knowledge, which it is our wish to communicate. And if only a few be once made to partake of a "free draught at

the refreshing fount of English knowledge" in its higher departments, we have no doubt that a craving will thereby be created for fresh supplies, and that the strongest guarantee for this continued attendance of pupils will be found in the perfect delight which they must experience in the vigorous prosecution of their studies; as well as the growing sense of the advantage of so doing "both for time and eternity." With such and similar arguments were the objections of many repelled at the time. The experiment was tried, and the day has arrived when these anticipations have been more than verified. Other zealous friends of Christianity looking at the Government Hindoo College and its fruits, could not help associating a superior English education with infidelity. To this representation the reply was, That the Hindoo College produced bitter fruits simply because it communicated knowledge which destroyed a false religion without supplying the true one. The very existence of a seminary like the Hindoo College, in his opinion, furnished one of the strongest arguments for the establishment of a new seminary, "its rival as an intellectual gymnasium, and its superior as the nursery of religion and morals." From the circulation of European literature and science exclusive of morality and religion, "the young alumni too wise to continue the dupes and slaves of an irrational monstrous superstition, enlist themselves in the ranks of infidelity." Here then a new power threatened soon to become more formidable than idolatry itself. It became then a question of vital importance, How was the encroachment of this new anti-idolatrous and anti-Christian power "to be resisted?" Could any plan be devised more likely to arrest its desolating progress than the founding of a superior Christian seminary, with the view of raising up another class of young men, who having their minds imbued with the spirit of modern science and regulated by the principles of true religion and sound morality, could challenge the common enemy on his own terms and "aided from on high" eventually take by storm "the strongest position of this lofty citadel?"

The resolution having now been formed, that elementary English schools were best adapted to the ultimate end contemplated, no time was lost in attempting to give effect to it. A tolerably-sized hall in an old building at Jorasanko on the Chitpore road was hired for the purpose. All the necessary preparations having been completed, the General Assembly's Institution was opened on ~~Friday~~ 13th July, 1830, with five pupils recommended by the late lamented Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. The generous treatment which these five men received induced others to come, and in three days the Hall, which held

about one hundred and twenty, was filled. On the 4th day upwards of two hundred new applicants, who were most clamorous in their entreaties, having unexpectedly appeared, a careful selection of two hundred and fifty pupils was made rejecting, to the deep regret of the founder, hundreds for want of accommodation. The first few days were devoted to the task of "marshalling" the classes and teachers, and of reducing the whole to order and discipline, and the business of actual tuition on a new system then commenced. The first class consisted of those who could only read words of two syllables.

New candidates for admission continually pressing forward, it was found necessary to close the lists, for the present, and as a temporary arrangement by an alternation of the junior and senior classes at different hours of the day, to teach double the number which the Hall could at once accommodate.

On the termination of the first twelve months, a public examination of the pupils was held in a central Hall in the European quarter of Calcutta, in the presence of a large and respectable audience of European ladies and gentlemen, besides several natives of high rank. Those who witnessed it were highly gratified with the result.

It must be admitted that every succeeding year the character and reputation of the system rose in the estimation of the Natives and Europeans. Elementary tuition was gradually advanced to an academical course, and the five who entered on the day of its first commencement have since swollen into a daily attendance of more than a thousand pupils of different castes, including the very highest, and of different ages from six to twenty and upwards.

In 1836, the Institution was removed to Gurranhatta and visited by the then Governor-General of India (Lord Auckland). In 1838, the Institution was transferred to the splendid building in Cornwallis Square which had been erected by funds raised in Scotland on Dr. Duff's visit in 1835. After his return in improved health in 1840, it was divided into College and School departments, and these have since been continued, consolidated and maintained.

In May, 1843, owing to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, the eminent Doctor and his Colleagues considered it their duty to dissolve their connection with the General Assembly's Institution in the Cornwallis Square and at a wonderfully immense sacrifice of personal interest, they accordingly abandoned that Institution with the house, library, apparatus, furniture, &c. which all became the property of the Established Church of Scotland.

After this almost unparalleled sacrifice on the part of the Missionaries, their position and prospects here were at once hazardous and gloomy. It was, however, soon resolved by them to make the metropolis of British India still the field of their labour. Partially prepared with the immediate requirements of an educational Institution, the Missionaries opened a new school in a spacious and commodious house of a native gentleman in the heart of the native part of Calcutta, Nimtolla Street. In this new or Free Church Institution, which is only a continuation of the old, or rather the old itself under a new name, the whole of the beneficial agencies hitherto at work, remained the same. The system of education hitherto pursued was unchanged. The Missionaries, teachers, and monitors employed were those who were the Missionaries, teachers and monitors in the Institution prior to the disruption of the Scottish Establishment while the number of pupils including those who formerly attended, was greatly increased.

Under the blessing of the Divine Ruler and Disposer of all events the Free Church Institution which was subsequently removed to the new premises erected in the same locality (Nimtolla Street) and replenished with furniture, library and philosophical apparatus, is at present in a most flourishing condition, rising in the admiration and estimation of the public, by the diffusion of liberal education of a superior standard to a larger number of students than in any free school in Calcutta.

In short the Institution has been in a continuous progressive advancement under the able superintendency and gigantic exertions of Dr. Duff and his colleagues.

One of these, Dr. D. Ewart, has very recently been removed from his laudable work after a short illness by Cholera, creating a wide gap in the Institution, as well as in the Missionary community in general. He was styled one of the props or pillars of the Institution, and was truly a good man. His death is a great calamity.

A single glance at the course of studies delineated in the undermentioned Abstract, will point out the range which it embraces. The grand object aimed at is the development of all the faculties of the mind. In order to accomplish this noble end in so far as instruction is concerned, no really useful branch of literature or science has been neglected.

There is no such thing known in the institution, as cramming for the Annual Examination, or for any other purpose. All the subjects or portions of subjects specified below, have been fairly mastered and repeatedly revised and in all of these the students are consequently liable at any time to be examined. The study of the vernacular has also been rendered increasingly effective.

The senior class in the College Department being annually dissolved to be succeeded by the one next below it ; the subjects for study in each class have been substantially the same for the last twenty years. They include all that is required for the B. A. and Honor Examination of the Calcutta University.

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT.

Third and Fourth years' class, En- trance class, and preparatory En- trance class.	{	<i>Bible</i> .—Old and new Testament.
		<i>Theology</i> .—Butler's Anology, Paley's Evidences, &c.
		<i>Literature</i> .—Shakespeare, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Milton's Paradise Lost and Regained, Samson Agonistes and Lycidas, Bacon's Essays, Grammar, English Composition, &c. &c.
		<i>History</i> .—Elphinstone's, and Murray's India, Goldsmith's England, Brief Survey, 1st and 2nd part.
		<i>Mental or Moral Science</i> .—Abercrombie and Wayland, Payne, Hamilton, Brown, &c.
		<i>Physical Science</i> .—Animal Physiology, Chemistry.
		<i>Mathematics and Natural Philosophy</i> .—Solid Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, Conic sections, Euclid six Books, Algebra, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Arithmetic.
		<i>Geography</i> .—Anderson's.
	{	<i>Bengallee</i> .—Mahabharut, Grammar, Translation, &c. &c.

SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.

From 1st to 6th class.	{	<i>Bible</i> .—New Testament.
		<i>History</i> .—Murray's India, McCulloch's Course of Reading, Physical and Chemical Sciences, Poetical Instructor, Brief Survey, part 1st and 2nd.
		<i>Geography</i> .—Ewart's.
		<i>Arithmetic</i> .—
From 7th to 16th or last class.	{	<i>Grammar</i> .—Compositions.
		<i>Bengallee</i> .—Translation, Grammar, Sukuntolla, &c.
		<i>History of Bengal, Geography, Grammar, Instructors, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.</i>
		<i>Dictation, and Bengallee.</i>

The boys of the last seven lower classes meet every day one hour in the Gallery for general instruction, moral training and active discipline.

A suitable number of prizes for general eminence is given in every class, as well as one in each class, for regular attendance and good conduct: besides these, special prizes have invariably been proposed and competed for. Medals and Scholarships have also been awarded.

The undermentioned are some of the subjects of essays written and contended for by general competition for prizes awarded to the most successful students.

1st.—On the causes which led to the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

2nd.—On the ancient civilization of the Hindoos as indicated by their Civil and Criminal Laws.

3rd.—On the similes in the 1st Book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, with a view to point out their aptitudes and characteristic beauties.

4th.—On the fulfilment of scripture prophecies indicated in the History of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors.

5th.—On the evils of popular ignorance in Bengal.

6th.—For the best dissertation on the celebrated saying from nothing nothing comes.

7th.—Whether the savage state be the original and natural state of man or not.

8th.—What is meant by conscience, how does it operate, how may it be injured and how improved?

9th.—Can we by induction alone from the present state of human nature, arrive at a proficient standard of morals?

10th.—On the causes of opposition to Christianity in India.

11th.—On the up-bringing of Hindoo youth from their earliest infancy to the period of leaving the Patshala or Bengalee School.

12th.—On the present state and prevailing character of the educated Hindoos.

13th.—On the chief obstacles in the way of a general system of Female education in India and the best method of removing them.

14th.—The best means of promoting the improvement of educated youths after they have left School or College.

15th.—On the system and tenets of the Kurtabhohahs.

16th.—On the political and religious effects of the Reformation in Britain.

The ordinary disbursement of the Institution are the salaries of the Missionaries and Catechists paid by subscriptions raised in Scotland. The salaries of the native teachers, pundits,

servants and contingencies are paid by subscriptions raised in this country. A small and almost nominal schooling fee of 4 annas per student has lately been imposed and collected from the students, and the amount thus realized is spent in defraying the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the Establishment. The cost of the new building occupied by the Institution at present was paid from a fund obtained by the energetic and indefatigable exertions of the Reverend Doctor Duff from the people of Scotland and America to whom he had applied for that purpose during his temporary sojourn in those countries. The library attached to it contains numerous valuable works presented by the friends of native education in this country, in Scotland and America.

The Branch schools connected with the Free Church Mission in Bengal are as follows :—

The Chinsurah Institution, the Bansbariah Free Church Schools, the Culna Free Church Institution, the Mahomed Anglo-vernacular school, the Female Boarding School, Mrs. Edwart's Female School, Dr. Duff's Female School, Calcutta, with other female schools in Chinsurah, Bansbariah, Culna and Mahomed.

The history of this valuable Institution is intimately connected with the progress of the native mind, emancipating it from the trammels of ignorance.

The scheme of education inaugurated in this seminary has produced most momentous results, when viewed in connection with the previous state of things. It has achieved wonders, considering the dense mass of superstition to be dealt with.

The Free Church, originally the General Assembly's Institution, was the first Missionary school in Calcutta, which gave a thorough liberal English education to the natives. It is true that there had existed other Missionary schools previous to its foundation, but the education which was given in them was confined to a mere elementary course, the sole object being the conversion of the pupils to Christianity. These schools were therefore asylums for the children of the lowest and poorest classes of the natives, as they had no inducement to attract those of the higher and aristocratic orders.

How successfully this Institution founded by Dr. Duff has demolished the "bugbear of alleged impracticability" as regards the attendance of respectable natives for a series of years in a Christian seminary! The interest manifested by him in the progress and welfare of his pupils, induced them to remain in his academy, animated them in all their exertions for the acquisition of the English language, and taught them to esteem and love him as a great benefactor.

The Free Church Institution has coped with the Hindu College for many years. Its established reputation has immortalized the name of the founder. The Bengal Medical College and the Calcutta University bear testimony to its wonderful success. Are not some of the most meritorious Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons the ex-students of this Institution? Are not its pupils valuable and useful officers and assistants in all the departments of the Public Service, Revenue, Judicial, Financial, Educational and General?

Among the unparalleled results produced by this Institution may be reckoned the destruction of ignorance and prejudice, idolatry and superstition, and the substitution of the principles of true literature and science.

In this Institution from the first, the truths of God's words are habitually inculcated, the Bible itself is gradually read, the external and internal evidences are systematically unfolded, the principles of true literature and science as well as moral philosophy are carefully impressed on the minds of the pupils. With these weapons, the march of civilization has been irresistible, carrying devastation through ignorance, the foundation of superstition, idolatry and caste, and though idolatry and superstition are "like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which closely binds the whole," yet when once the common foundation is undermined, the whole fabric must ere long crumble into fragments. The manners, customs and habits of those who are most enlightened, have already undergone total renovation. Hinduism has been tottering in her foundation. Atheism has disappeared or rather been nipped in the bud. Besides, hundreds who have left the Institution with substantial or solid acquirements are anything but Hindus, they are really Christians in their hearts.

To the results already enumerated so far as intellectual improvements and external reformation are concerned, I may presume finally to add real conversions in immediate connection with the Institution. Individuals have been led openly to renounce their idols and to embrace "Jesus Christ" as their Saviour, under circumstances vindicating the sincerity of this small band of converts. Several have prematurely been cut off by the cold hand of death to the deep regret of all, and of those who are spared, some have chosen honorable professions and the rest are catechists and ordained ministers, with the exception of a few who are still in the Institution conducting their studies with vigour. They have all borne excellent and exemplary characters.

In conclusion, I cannot pass over this opportunity without the warmest though inadequate (adequate being impracticable)

acknowledgment of the deep debt of gratitude due by this country, and particularly by those who have been brought up in their Institution to the philanthropic people of Scotland for the greatest of all obligations, intellectual blessings, conferred upon them by this valuable seminary.

Calcutta, 5th November, 1860.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION
PURSUED IN ENGLAND,

BY

BABOO GOPAL CHUNDER BANERJEE.

[The writer of this essay, which was too long to print *in extenso*, has kindly furnished the following synopsis of it.—H. W.]

This essay begins with general remarks on Education, dwelling upon its vast importance and extensive usefulness, and upon its progress from an empirical art to a profound science, and naming the great men who have by their works contributed to introduce new and improved methods of education into schools. A brief account is then given of the progress of education in England from the earliest times when Christianity was introduced into it to the latest period. At the end of this account a list in chronological order is given of the various societies, chiefly religious, which were or have been established for the diffusion of education in England.

The main subject of the essay 'The Systems of Education pursued in England,' is then introduced and a notice is given of each of the principal systems in the following order.

- I.—Pestalozzian system.
- II.—The Infant School system.
- III.—The Training system.
- IV.—The Tripartite system.
- V.—The Monitorial system.
- VI.—The Pupil Teacher system.

The notice of the Pestalozzian system commences with a brief account of the life of Pestalozzi and prefaces a description of the main features of that system with the following observations.

As the result of his investigations, Pestalozzi assumed as a fundamental principle, that education, in order to fit a man for his destination, must proceed according to the laws of nature. It should assist the course of natural development instead of doing it violence. It should watch and follow its progress, instead of attempting to cut out a path agreeably to a pre-conceived system.

He adapted the term intuition to designate the mode of instruction by the senses. The child is first led to observe, to examine, to name, and to describe common objects, beginning with simple facts chiefly relating to their external appearance, according to the age of the child, or his talent for observation. From these he is led onwards by a gradual process, during which he becomes conscious of the means afforded by his own powers when properly acted upon, for the acquisition of knowledge. The child's impressions are derived from his own positive acquaintance with things, and not from the mere dictum of his teachers, and consequently they are likely to be more permanent, more to engage his thoughts, than if mere words were communicated to him. The application of the intuitive principle to every branch of a boy's studies would facilitate and render pleasant his progress, and the wide extent to which it is applicable is well known to those instructors who acknowledge it as a guide and employ it as an auxiliary in their labours.

Next after mentioning the various principles of the system, its defects are pointed out. In this system of education, simplicity was carried too far and continued too long. The study of Mathematics was commenced too early and occupied so much time, that little space was left to other studies; and consequently a harmonious development of the faculties was not properly secured. From the prevalence of mathematical studies, boys became habituated to place greater reliance on demonstrative evidence than on historical or religious truths. Historical evidence was altogether disregarded. Pestalozzi himself used to say that history was but a "tissue of lies," though he opposed the abuse of the Socratic method made in some schools, he himself could not avoid committing the same error in treating of moral and religious subjects, in which he endeavoured to draw forth from the pupils more than what had been previously communicated to them.

Whatever may be the defects of his system, it cannot be denied that Pestalozzi was a devoted enthusiast in the cause of popular education, and that he has successfully combated by his example and works to remove that prejudice against popular education which was founded upon the wrong and absurd notion that obedience and allegiance are the true fruits

of ignorance. "He denounced the ancient partial instruction of the child. A child is not all ear and tongue; to listen and to commit to memory, merely for the sake of repeating, is one of the most debasing tasks to which a human being can be subjected. He moreover strongly urged upon sovereigns and parents the solemn duties imposed upon them by the Creator of bringing up the youth committed to their charge. He thus aroused princes to a sense of their duty. Kings soon began to provide for the education of the people, and to recognize it as one of the most important functions of their office."

The following sentences are extracted from the brief notice of the Infant school system. In the Infantschool system, instruction is never to be separated from amusement and pleasure. The great object of an Infant teacher should be to cultivate the infant faculties by gratifying virtuous instincts. In an infant school, the instruction should have a constant regard to health, physical development, and amusement. Children are happy little creatures, they have no regret for the past, no care for the present, and no fear for the future; the present is to them all enjoyment, and hope brightens their future, they know no disappointment.

'Alas! regardless of their doom
The little victims play;
No sense have they of ills to come
No care beyond to day.'

To their tender age, constraint and severity are unnecessary and prejudicial. The habit of study and undivided attention must be acquired slowly. Long continuous lessons to them are therefore useless and injurious; exercise must be followed by repose, to prevent fatigue and to sustain interest and vigour in the exercise. The extreme susceptibility of their tender mind to receive impressions from without, requires from their teachers, the greatest care and attention to secure their mind from evil influences, and to instil into it virtuous principles; for

If virtue we plant not, vice will fill the place
As rankest weeds the richest soils deface.

The difficulty of the teacher's profession is inversely to the age of his pupils. Infants and young children therefore ought never to be committed to the charge of incompetent teachers. Little or no attention appears to be given to this important point in all the schools (Government or private) in this country. The first or entrance class is invariably left to the charge of novices or worthless teachers. And in no country is the want of good infant schools and of efficient infant teachers more felt than in this, where mothers, the real educators of infants,

are, through their utter ignorance, quite incompetent to discharge so important and high a duty.

The school must be agreeable to the children, and to this end all arrangements ought to be directed. Instruction is to be given by means of pictures, maps, objects, diagrams and models, in order to make it pleasing to the pupils. Indeed, children should be made cheerful and happy in the school so that they may not feel their absence from home. And nothing is more conducive to this end, than a love in children for their school, their teacher, their lessons, and their associates. Order, neatness, love, between the teacher and pupil, and between the pupils themselves should prevail in the school.

They (infants) ought never to be alone, but always in company with those of their age. Their sympathies are then awakened, and their selfishness is restrained. It is in the infant school, that by judicious management all the noxious weeds may be eradicated before they gain any strength of growth, while every good propensity may be fostered and nourished by the kindly warmth of affection and sympathy.

The following are the remarks with which the notice of this system concludes. No argument is at present needed to establish the utility of infant schools. Their utility is sufficiently attested by their number and extensive popularity in Europe and America. In Germany there is a class of schools called Kribben or Cradle and Garden Schools, where infant children are taken care of and instructed. But unfortunately for India, for British India, her infants are little thought of, no special care is taken for their growth, physical, intellectual or moral. With the exception of a very few solitary infant schools, instituted and conducted by the benevolent body of Missionaries, the great, real friends and zealous, disinterested promoters of education, the country can boast of no rightly constituted infant school. One school for infants was established by Government in February 1839 at Hooghly which was most ably and efficiently conducted by its head-master, the late Mr. Gomess, a man of extremely amiable and engaging manners. Those who witnessed his mode of teaching and managing the infant mind, cannot but feel deep regret for the loss of his valuable services and for the abolition of the school itself in 1851 after his death. The vivid impression which Mr. Gomess's mode of training infants has left in our minds often excites in us great indignation against the *Gurus* of our indigenous schools, and against our ignorant countrymen who, without a feeling of grudge engage them to train their dearest pledges. These *Gurus*, most of whom the want of rain or the failure of a rice crop has driven from the cares of the field and

the plough to the trade of a teacher, bring with them no other recommendation than that of utter ignorance, accompanied with fierceness and roughness of manner, and great humility of expectation which in certain cases never rises beyond food and clothing.

The notice of the training system begins with an account of its commencement by David Stow in 1826, and then dwells upon 'Sympathy of numbers,' 'Picturing out Ellipses' and 'Simultaneous teaching and answering,' as the main principles of the system, and concludes with a few remarks on the Gallery and the Playground, the two absolutely necessary appendages to a training school.

The notice of the Monitorial system begins with an account of its origin, its introduction into England, and its extensive adoption in different countries. The objections raised against the system by David Stow are then stated, and the advantages to be derived from it are thus described. "Monitors in some respects prove better teachers than adults, they sympathise more readily with the boys they teach, they are more patient in imparting instruction, and they are fertile in expedients for explaining and illustrating what they know, they communicate with greater facility, and learn while they teach; they often willingly undertake the labour of teaching and adhere more closely than adults to the plans and directions of the superintendent, and thus secure unity of system and action which is so essential to success in schools. The intermediate position which monitors occupy between the teacher and the pupil is also profitable to both. The teacher freed from the labour of giving instruction in the mechanical parts, can devote greater attention to the higher branches, and the boys not being allowed to grow listless and inattentive through want of work, are unitedly and agreeably engaged in their own improvement, in increasing the happiness of their teacher, and in promoting the usefulness of the school. The moral advantages of this system are also many. It engenders in the boys a habit of industry which is favourable to the cultivation of other virtues, from the interchanges of benefits which it requires, the benevolent affections are cherished and called into exercise, the use and importance of reducing our knowledge to practice are also appreciated and the extensive responsibility of monitors, which gives them an opportunity for the manifestation of good and evil principles, is highly useful as a means for the discovery of character and developing the moral faculties."

The notice of the Pupil Teacher system shews its advantages, the term of the apprenticeship, the rules regarding Pupil teachers and the rates of allowance they receive.

The account of Normal Schools describes their number, constitution and the great good which they have wrought by creating in some degree a standard of efficiency towards which nearly all the public schools in England are now tending. The essay then shows how popular education has been steadily advancing during the last fifty years, notwithstanding the religious nature of the schools, and the numerous religious sects into which the nation is divided. In speaking of the system of school inspection and the grant-in-aid system the defects of the latter are thus pointed out. By the system of grants-in-aid, poor and friendless places are not at all benefited. The distribution of funds supplied by all, being made to depend upon local contributions, tends to establish by the aid of the state an educational monopoly, to render help just where it is superfluous, and to make the tax least fruitful to the places and persons most in need of aid. Moreover, while the social circumstances of the multitude remain unfriendly to their intellectual and moral progress, success in these economic attempts to elevate the masses of population by mere elementary education, must be slow and doubtful. Thousands of children enter schools, and leave them at a very early age for want of means to prosecute their studies any longer or for the opportunities that offer for employing their early labours. Thousands of parents for want of social, moral and intellectual elevation, are quite unable to appreciate the advantages of a high education. And many may very reasonably ask, What delight can education give to those who, leaving school where taste has been created and appetite excited, find that the treasures and sweets of literature are far beyond their reach? "However carefully," says Horace Mann, "the tree of knowledge may be planted, and however diligently tended, it can never grow to fruitfulness or beauty in an uncongenial soil; concurrently with all direct attempts to cultivate the popular intelligence there needs be a vigorous endeavour to alleviate if not remove that social wretchedness which blights all educational promise, and to shed around the growing popular mind an affluence of wholesome light on which the half-developed plant may feed and thrive." The following sentences are extracted from the general remarks with which the essay concludes.

Popular education, it appears, is an idea of very recent origin. The ancients had and the moderns, previous to the present century, may be said to have had, no idea of popular education. From the time of Pestalozzi a foundation was laid for the education of the people, and princes began to provide for a general diffusion of education and its blessings. The monitorial and the

pupil teacher system also served in a greater measure to overcome the difficulties arising from want of funds to provide assistant teachers. It was perceived too that the first step towards any improvement in popular education was the preparing of trained teachers for elementary schools in Colleges instituted for that especial purpose. Thus was recognized the important principle that the art of teaching like other arts can only be acquired by practice and an early attention to the best methods of communicating knowledge. Universities may produce scholars, divines, and philosophers, but they cannot train schoolmasters. It is the peculiar province of the professors of a training College to effect this, by explaining the principles of education with regard to the methods of teaching, by showing the usefulness of these methods in the actual management of a school, and by communicating such knowledge as will make the teachers useful in their profession.

Were the English Government disposed to receive at once under her care and protection all the poor and helpless children of the soil, and were she to establish free schools for their education; how many geniuses, doomed for want of proper culture to live and die in insignificance would then rush forth into notice, make themselves illustrious and add new glory and renown to their mother-country. Then and then only would the high and noble wishes of the poet Wordsworth, expressed in the following lines, be fully crowned with success.

‘O! for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this Imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation on her part to teach
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by statute to secure,
For all the children whom her soil maintains,
The rudiments of letters, and inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practised, so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained or run
Into a wild disorder, or be forced
To drudge through weary life without the help
Of intellectual implements and tools,
A savage horde among the civilized,
A servile band among the lordly free.’

REPORT
OF
THE SECTION OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY,
BY
E. B. COWELL, ESQ.
January 10th, 1861.

WHEN our esteemed President first introduced his plan of establishing sections for encouraging private industry and research, we all felt that it was an experiment, which only the future could prove. We all saw how important it was that such a scheme should succeed, but we could not tell what unfortunate circumstances might spring up to interfere with our anticipated results. The whole plan was *new*, and it depended for its success on the co-operation of others, who might not at first realise all the advantages to be derived from it. Most of our members too had but little leisure, and it could hardly perhaps be expected that they should come forward to devote that little to a plan which might after all prove a failure.

And yet in one sense a failure it could not be, if the attempt were but made with the earnest heart of the true student. Knowledge is worth pursuing for its own sake, as well as for its ulterior results, and in this point of view it can never disappoint its true-hearted votary. And it was to carry out this idea, that we instituted the plan of sections from the first. We saw a large and ever-growing amount of native talent, which lay round us like a wide region of soil newly cleared and ready for cultivation, but which we feared might be left untilld or only partially sown, and thus yield no due produce to its owner. It was our aim to stimulate a process of self-culture in the members of our various sections, by which each might carry on for himself the work of self-education—a work which properly then first begins, when the student has bid farewell to the lecture-room and henceforth follows his own path by himself. It is then that our sections are to take him up—not as the passive recipient of lectures, but as himself the

living agent to carry out their plans,—the members are to act as the Society's eyes and hands and feet, in carrying on the diverging researches which our various sections embrace.

None can deny that such a system (whether it be connected with this Society or not is of inferior moment)—none, I say, can deny that some such system is essential to the healthy development of the educated natives of Bengal. We know that the primeval sentence has doomed mankind only after labour to reap; and it is by the division of labour alone that we can hope to reap the fruits of the fields of knowledge. It is so in every department of human knowledge,—the solitary student may initiate, but it is only by the combined efforts of many that any permanent results can be won. Life is too short and our powers too limited for much individual success—and it is only by uniting our efforts that we can really grapple with our difficulties, and then we do not *add* but *multiply*.

Now *originality* is the great lack in the present state of the Bengali mind. I have a very high opinion of the native intellect, and I am confident that the future will see it achieve great results; but at present it seems to me to be in a far from healthy state. It has hitherto lain as it were passive in our hands, imbibing and perhaps assimilating the nutriment given it, but giving few signs of living energy and original vigour. We have had in consequence many admirable translations,—first-rate adaptations of already existing materials, but beyond this there is a *blank*. If I look for some books which shall be the *bonâ fide* utterance of the Bengali educated mind, I can hardly name a volume which has any claim to such a title. But, if our English education is to be really useful, it must lead to some such result as that—if it does not bring out Bengali originality, our education is only a failure after all. The friends of native education have no desire to see the Hindu anglicised,—by all means let the educated Hindu keep himself true to his country; but let him seek to raise that country from the torpor in which centuries, aye millennia, have sunk it. This is not to be done by blindly imitating the past,—India has tried her own field and has exhausted it, and the simple imitation of the past is not what India wants to renovate her. The old Hindu thinkers were giants for their day,—but like the giants of Greece and Rome, their day is over,—and modern India, like modern Europe, has need of a firmer hand, to guide her in her present path. Nor must she simply follow the West, as it seems to me too many Hindus are contented to do, as if a denationalised Hindu were the true result to which our education were to tend. But this is not the result which will really benefit India. What India wants is that the oriental

should remain the oriental—with an occidental training beneath him.

Let it not be said that England or Englishmen are indifferent to Hindu originality—only last year we saw a signal proof to the contrary. I was reading but the other day a work on *Maxima and Minima* by a Hindu of the North-Western Provinces—which has the merit of announcing a new and simpler method of solving a well known class of problems which have hitherto been considered as belonging to the higher analysis. Ram Chandra's problem was not of great moment,—it was no discovery like old Napier's in his tower of Merchistoun, or Newton's in his fellow's rooms at Trinity, but it was a genuine discovery after all, and that book has been published in England at the expense of the Government, and one of the first of English mathematicians, De Morgan, has written an introduction to explain the merits of the work.

Now why is Ram Chandra of Delhi a solitary instance in India? how is it that our education has called up no similar efforts here?

We are not confined to mathematics,—the old Hindu proverb says that time is boundless and the world is wide,—* and as far back as history or monuments allow us to trace the one, and as wide as science and discovery allow us to map out the other,—so far and so wide are the bounds of our possible researches. Still, however, for obvious reasons, the proper field for our sections is *Asia*, and in Asia of course its more immediate province is India. Our researches are not likely to be successful in European subjects,—these of course can be far better pursued in Europe, and we are not likely to discover at a distance things which have escaped the observation of those on the spot. But in India our members are at *home*, and I shall be greatly disappointed, if in future years, our sections do not here produce important results. In every department of Indian inquiry, we find a boundless field open. In my own section I am sure that the subjects of interest are infinite, and every member, if he does but bring a hearty *will* to the work, will find ample materials upon which to spend his labour and time. And it is this which we want in India—and we are entitled to expect it from the educated Hindus. They are bound to use their talents and acquirements for the improvement of their native land—and every attempt made to advance the bounds of our knowledge in whatever direction, is an immediate as well as a prospective gain. It is *immediate*, because every item of truth is valuable,—every new fact discovered is an onward step in the wide expanse of the unknown

* *Mālatī-Mādhava*.

which surrounds us. It is also a *prospective* gain, for every fact has innumerable relations to other facts, and we can never tell beforehand in what unexpected ways it may throw light on what seemed at first quite unconnected with it. Thus for instance the geometrical researches of Plato's school into the properties of the conic sections were at first purely theoretical—there was hardly a practical consequence deduced from them; and for nearly two thousand years, the inquiry remained a curious speculation for the intellect, but apparently unconnected with human life and barren. But when once Kepler had discovered that, to use Whewell's fine phrase, "the stars in their courses obey the laws of the conic sections," these theorems which for ages had belonged to the region of abstract speculation, were at once transferred to that of the intensely practical; and every truth which Plato's school had discovered, lured on only by the disinterested love of science, became a secure basis for the researches of the astronomer, and, through astronomy, became linked with those mighty practical interests which depend upon it.

And beside these immediate and prospective gains to science, there is the still more important intellectual and moral gain to the members themselves,—the habit formed of self-discipline and patient toil, when removed from the more immediate stimulants of emulation and collegiate distinction;—the love of knowledge for its own sake, apart from the honours or rewards which it may bring with it,—and the desire to raise one's fellow countrymen by honestly taking up the burden which falls to one's own share, and manfully performing one's own allotted task in the general plan. In this way we shall be turning our education to its proper use,—not merely confining it to the period of youth, but letting it stretch on year by year, throughout our whole lives. And in this way, the educated Hindus will tell on their countrymen, and our education produce real results. To use the illustration of Prof. Wilson, it has hitherto been as the churning of the ocean in old Hindu legend; there has been movement and change and disturbance, but we have a right to look for still further results, and it is now high time to expect that our efforts shall at last bring to the surface, the gems of original fancy and the amrita of independent thought.

I will now proceed to give a little account of the proceedings of the Philosophy and Literature Section. Early in the year, a meeting was held at which different members undertook to prepare papers on a variety of subjects, but I am sorry to say that only two have been sufficiently completed to be presented to the Society this evening, but I may add that both these

essays are highly creditable to their authors, and are just the sort of productions which we wish our Section to produce. These are, the one by Baboo Grish Chunder Ghose on the present state of dramatic representations* among the natives of Bengal, the other by Baboo Taraprosad Chatterjea, B. A. on the rise, progress and doctrine of Chaitanya, a remarkable Hindu reformer who rose up nearly four hundred years ago (contemporary with Luther in Europe) and propagated his tenets with remarkable energy and success over many and far distant provinces of India. Before I proceed to read extracts from these two essays, however, I would beg leave to make a few suggestions as to future subjects for the Section.

I have noted down a few topics which occurred to me as offering subjects for inquiry, and perhaps at some future time some one may take them up. Many of them will require Sanscrit, but they will also require English, and above all, the habits of study which are given by an English education. We want that our members should combine, according to the principle of the division of labour, and let each contribute his own part towards the joint result. I wish we could see many literary partnerships in our Sections,—Hindu Beaumonts and Fletchers,—to carry on united researches on one common plan. In this way, we should not merely double our powers but increase them tenfold. Thus for instance, if one could contribute the knowledge of Sanscrit and another that of English, the two combined would find that their union was indeed strength.

1. Few books of the kind have been more extensively read than Professor Wilson's *Sects of the Hindus*, and it is chiefly based on two old Hindu works, the *Sarvadars'ana Sangraha* by Mādhavāchārya, the great Hindu Statesman of Bijayanagar in the 14th century, and the *Sankaradigvijaya* of S'ankara Achārya by his disciple Anantānanda Giri. Besides these, there is a third work, another *Digvijaya* of S'ankara, in verse by Mādhavāchārya, the author of the first work. One of these, the first, has been printed in Sanscrit, and the Professor of Philosophy in the Sanscrit College has lately published a Bengali translation of it,—the others at present exist only in MS. Now we want translations or analyses of all these works. The first describes the various systems of Hindu philosophy current in the 14th century, and its author should be especially revered by Hindus, as it was under his auspices, as the prime minister of Bijayanagar, that the great Hindu movement in

* As the author has promised to add a second part, giving some further information on this interesting subject, the publication of the present part has been deferred, in order that it may be all presented together.

the Deccan took place, which led to the establishment about 1340 of the independent kingdom of Carnata and gave such an impulse in every direction to the revival of Hindu learning in the Deccan.

2. The other two works give the legendary history of one of the most remarkable men that India ever produced,—S'ankara Áchárya who flourished in the 8th century ; and though they are full of exaggerated accounts, yet they undoubtedly contain abundant materials which, if carefully analysed and critically examined, would throw much light upon the state of India in the 8th and 9th centuries,—a period now utterly dark.

3. A comparison between Hindu and European Rhetoric would be found full of interest. I need only mention one little fact which seems to me peculiarly suggestive, the wide difference between the European and Indian meaning of the term *Rhetoric*. This difference at once suggests the diverging nature of their respective histories,—in the one country the word has risen into oratory and become connected with the names of the greatest statesmen and the highest political interests, in the other it has languished in the region of taste and become more and more cut off from all contact with daily life and its realities.

4. A similar comparison might be instituted between certain parts of European and Indian logic. The great interest attaching to the latter is its originality,—it is the only logic in the world which has arisen unconnected with Aristotle ; and hence however its method may be superseded by Whately or Mill, it will always have a value to the student of the history of the human mind ; and a comparison of these two independent systems will always be interesting.

5. A careful research into the local traditions and antiquities of the different zillahs of Bengal, the result being embodied in the form of such histories as have been written of Delhi, Jaunpore, and Dacca.

6. Philological researches into Bengali, Uriya and Hindi, especially a mutual comparison ; and a comparative grammar for the modern dialects of northern India derived from the Sanscrit, similar in plan to Bopp's grand work on the six ancient Indo-Germanic languages, or like the later works which have been written on the romance languages of modern Europe.

Nor are there wanting subjects to interest our Musalmán members. I have only noticed four, but it would be easy to add to their number.

7. An analysis of the Akhláki Násiri, a celebrated Muham-

madan work on Ethics written in the 12th century by Násir ud Din of Tús in Bokhara.

8. Indian history presents many interesting episodes which have never been thoroughly examined. Thus I might mention the history of Masáúd, the son of Mahmud of Ghazni, written by his Secretary Baihaki, which is now being printed by the Asiatic Society, and an analysis of which would be very valuable.

9. Similarly there are many materials for Akber's reign which have never been examined. I would only name one,—the poems of *Ghazzáli*, of which Dr. Sprenger says "His poems would throw much light upon the philosophy of the time of Akber, and it is therefore very desirable that they should be collected and preserved."

10. Lastly, there is Jehangir's autobiography, of which it has been said, "This autobiography is undoubtedly one of the most curious and interesting works in the whole range of the Muhammadan literature of India, presenting as it does, a complete picture of the private life of one of the most powerful and despotic monarchs of the world, of his own views, moral and political, of the manners of his court and of the chief events of his reign." Major Price's translation, published in London in 1829, was made from a spurious edition of the original, and gives only a garbled account of the first two years of his reign. The authentic edition goes down to the seventeenth or eighteenth year.

ESSAY ON CHAITANYA,

BY

BABOO TARAPROSAD CHATTERJEA, B. A.

Was the Hindu mind never roused from the state of dogmatic slumber in which it seems to have been reposing for centuries? Let the life of Chaitanya answer this question.

Chaitanya was born at Nuddea in the year, 1484. Prodigious, it is said, announced the advent of the wondrous child. As soon as he saw the light, the whole world, his biographers relate, set up a shout of "Haribole." His father Jaggannatha Misra was an emigrant from Sylhet. The Misras are a branch

of the Brahman clan of 'Vaidics'* who, though not sprung from the five venerable worthies invited by Adisoor—the progenitors of the majority of the high caste Brahmans of Bengal,—claim co-ordinate lineage and honours with these Brahmans, The Vaidics of Bhátparah opposite Chinsurah are the spiritual guides of some of the noblest Brahman families in Bengal. It is necessary to be explicit on this head, as many of the enemies of Chaitanya represent the schism of which he was the author, as a fanatical outbreak of the lowest populace headed by one sprung from its dregs.

Numerous anecdotes are related of the precocious wisdom of the child. One day his mother finding him engaged in eating earth scolded him sternly. "Why, mother," said the boy, "the best sweetmeat is but a modification of earth." On another occasion when he was particularly naughty, she ran after him to drub him into duty. He took refuge in a spot full of castaway kitchen pots, and when she commanded him to go to the river and purify himself by ablution, he replied that the cast-off vessels were not unclean, and that 'what defileth a man is in the man.'

These anecdotes rest indeed on a slender foundation; but are nevertheless interesting as having sprung out of a contemplation of the subsequent career of Chaitanya. Throughout his life he maintained what one greater than he had maintained before that "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth this defileth a man." In early childhood he was remarkable for some of those little mischievous pranks which lend such a strange interest to the same period of Krishna's life. The girls of Nuddea, like Hindu girls of the present day in other parts, used to go at the usual hour of bathing to the banks of the river with fruits, flowers and sweetmeat to be offered to Shiva. Chaitanya used often to present himself before them saying *he* was their god, and when the offerings were unusually tempting to transfer the contents of their little neat baskets to his own mouth. One of these girls Lackshmi afterwards became his consort. Under the tuition of Pundit Gangá Dása, he made a considerable progress in learning. The eulogy of his biographer and disciple Brindabun Dása, after making every allowance for the Boswellism natural to a person in his circumstances, does not appear to be wholly unmerited. His favourite study was the Sreemad bhágavata—the book which coloured his future destiny so deeply. In the Nyaya philosophy, hte forte of his native town, he was so proficient that he is

* Literally those who hold the Vedas to be the Revelation.

reputed to have composed a commentary on the Gautama Sutras now lost.* However that be, he never made a parade of his learning. On several occasions when the discourse turned on religion and philosophy, his disciples displayed considerable erudition. Chaitanya, however, generally contented himself with the passive part of a listener, now and then signifying his assent with a nod or an "aye," and when particularly moved, rising and giving the speaker a hearty embrace, often indeed would a verse or two from the Sreemad bhāgavata drop from his lips. But the only occasion on which we find him citing tenets of the higher philosophy is the occasion of the conversion of Śārba Bhauma Bhaṭṭāchārya, when he quotes two pantheistic passages from the Bhagavadgita.

Lackshmi having died of a snake-bite, he married another amiable girl of the name of Vishnupriā. That the above incident might not be without its romance, the *absence* of Chaitanya, it is said, took the form of a snake and caused the death. About this time took place a great revolution in his life.

His birth place is one of the most remarkable places in India. The capital of Bengal before Bakhtyar Khilji planted the crescent on its walls, it still retains its preeminence as the intellectual dictator of a great part of Eastern India. Raghu Nandana of Nuddea is the lawgiver of Bengal, and his commentaries—we might say his Institutes—are more frequently referred to here than the Institutes of Manu or the Institutes of Yagmavalka. The auspicious days and hours fixed by the astrologers and almanac makers of Nuddea regulate festivals, journeys and ceremonies throughout Bengal. A'gama Bāgisha of Nuddea instituted the Kali Poojah festival, and the first worshipper of the goddess Jagaddhātṛī, was the celebrated raja Krishna Chandra of Nuddea.† Raghunatha Siromani, the subtlety of whose dialectics awed the greatest pundits of Benares and Mithilā into admiration and silence, and who has left a commentary on the Gautama Sutras at once the subtlest and the most profound, was a native of Nuddea. Tantras ascribed to Shiva have been proved to be forgeries concocted by Nuddea pundits. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that

* A tradition at Nuddea ascribes the loss to Chaitanya's generosity. One day while crossing the river in a ferry boat he happened to have for his fellow passenger a Brahman, whose sole hope of advancement in the world was a similar commentary that had cost him the unceasing toil of years, and who apprehensive that Chaitanya's work might eclipse and supersede his own, earnestly besought his patronage. Chaitanya, who understood his meaning, instantly cast into the river a copy of his own work that happened to be with him. The story is improbable.

† Tattwabodhini Patrika.

Nuddea has for good and evil exercised and is still exercising an immense influence. Such a spot as this nurtured the young mind of Chaitanya. About the time he was to set out in life, the worship of the Shakti had reached its last stage of corruption. It was celebrated with orgies that might well put the votaries of the Bacchanalia and Dionysia, of the Moabite Chemosh and the Phœnician Astarte, to the blush. It seems to have, if not originated, at least very considerably improved, in Nuddea, whence it was very likely to spread abroad with fearful rapidity. The reforms of Chaitanya were due to a reaction against this degenerate worship of the Shakti. Vaishnavism, early instilled into his mind by the Sreemad bhágavata, was to be remodelled and presented to the world in its purity, and the obscene rites of Bhabáni would die a natural death. For a year he could do nothing but hold nocturnal meetings with a few congenial spirits in the house of his friend Sreebása, and sing Kirtuns* in honour of Krishna. The votaries of Bhabáni tried constantly to interrupt their devotions by yells and howls outside. Gopála Chápál, one of the worst of this mischievous crew, stole one night into the house, and put in the front hall pieces of plantain leaf, a number of China roses (झराफूल), turmeric, red lead, red sandal wood, an earthen bottle full of spirit and other requisites for the worship of Bhabáni. Next morning Sreebása called a sweeper to cast away the articles intended for the celebration of impure rites. And the third night after Gopála had insulted the majesty of the god of Brindában, he was, says Krishna Dása, a leper. Struck with remorse Gopála went to Chaitanya and standing before him in an abject posture with the palms joined, humbly craved for mercy. The offence of the penitent was forgiven him, and Gopála became whole and a convert. Some of the sayings of Chaitanya on this occasion, are characteristic. Seducing any one into the worship of Bhabáni, says he, is an offence punishable with the torments of the hell called Rauvava for ten millions of generations, and his mission is to exterminate impiety and establish the true faith. (Chaitanya Charitamrita, B. I. ch. 17).

A year passed away. Chaitanya and his friends acquired greater boldness, betook themselves to preaching in the streets and even parading through them with bands of Kirtunneers. They carried with them the sympathies of a large

* Kirtuns : songs in praise of some god or hero. The instrumental music accompanying them is that of (1) one or more pairs of cymbals (2) and the Mridanga, a drum of the shape of two cones united at their bases with their apices cut off.

portion of the population; but a strong minority was opposed to them. Some of these latter concluded very wisely that the Kirtuns were meant to subvert Hinduism; for, argued they, there were Kirtuns in honor of Mangal Chandee, there were Kirtuns in honor of Manasa; but no such thing as a Kirtun in honor of Krishna was ever heard of; such an innovation, therefore, could have no other end than the utter subversion of their venerable faith.*

Thus reasoned many a fellow townsman of the archlogician Siromani and these by no means the least intelligent of the community. One day while Chaitanya and his band were traversing the market-place singing the praises of Hari, two brothers Jagai and Mádhai, inflamed with deadly hatred against the obtrusive innovations, mustered a strong body of the adversaries of the sect and began a scuffle which resulted in many a broken head and broken mridanga.† Short, however, was their triumph. The fury of an evil conscience tormented them into repentance and from deadly enemies they became devoted followers of Chaitanya. A collision, scarcely less serious, took place soon after between the Cazee of Nuddea and the reformers. But victory, as before, was with Chaitanya. One night the Cazee dreamed a dream that a lion was breaking his head with his paw even as he had broken the mridangas of the Vaishnavas. This frightened him into toleration. In a conversation held with Chaitanya sometime after, he besought the great Vaishnava to forgive him for the sake of Nílánvara Chakravarti, Chaitanya's maternal grandfather, whom the Cazee by way of compliment called "chacha" and really regarded as uncle. Chaitanya exposed the falsity of the Koran and dwelt on the absolute necessity of faith in Hari for the salvation of mankind. The Cazee felt convinced of the absurdity of his own creed, and like Agrippa of old was almost persuaded to be a convert.

Thus passed away the first twenty-four years of the life of Chaitanya. In 1509, shortly after his return from a pilgrimage to Gaya he went to Culna and turned Sanyasi. The event affected his family very deeply. He was the only hope of his aged mother. Of the eight daughters she had borne all had

* আসি কহে হিন্দু ধর্ম ডালিল নিমাই।

যে কৌতুক প্রবৃত্ত হইল কতু শনি মাই ॥

যঙ্গলচণ্ডী বিবহরী করি আগরণ।

ভাতে নৃত্য গীত বাদ্য যজ্ঞ আচরণ ॥ &c. Chait. Charit. I. 17.

† Every Sraddh of note in Bengal is celebrated with Kirtuns which commemorate this incident. হরি বোল, হরি বোল বোলে কে যায় নোদের বাকার দিয়ে। ওরে জগাই মাধাই ডোর। খেয়ে আয় &c.

died in infancy. His elder brother Vishwarupa had become a Sanyasi some years before, and a child becoming a wandering monk is a child dead to all intents and purposes. It is said that Shachi had an ominous presentiment of the calamity that was to befall her, that for some days she would never suffer her child to be out of her sight, that the night before he went to Culna, she had kept him as close to her bosom as if he were her infant babe. All her precautions, however, were of no avail. At the dead of the night as soon as he heard a whistling sound, the signal he had concerted with his friends, he stole away from her side and was in full speed towards Culna. Shachi wept bitterly and her lament is the theme of many a popular ballad, the touching burden of one of which is, “কোথা গেলিরে নিমাই, আর বাহা কোড়ে করি আর” “Where art thou gone, my Nemie? * come back to my knees, my child.” And to this day, in Bengal, no Hindu female with one child would take a morsel of rice or a drop of water before dawn after she hears a whistling sound in the night.

Chaitanya, as will be seen hereafter, was devotedly attached to his mother. But a voice higher than her's called him to renounce the world, and he obeyed the call. We shall soon see how far he subsequently relaxed from the rigour of the code which enjoins a Sanyasi to forget his past life as completely as if his soul had transmigrated into another body.

Now took place one of the most memorable events in his life, an event which promised to inaugurate a new era of Hinduism. On his coming to the village of Ram Calce near Gour, such multitudes flocked to hear him preach as to attract the attention of Government, which, however, finding on inquiry that it was but a hermit who caused all this bustle, took no further notice of the matter. Among the minds in which the seed took root, were those of two Mahomedan brothers Dabir and Khash. At midnight they went to his quarters with the tokens of the most abject submission on them—straw between their teeth, cloths round their necks and tears in their eyes, and addressed him thus: “Purifier of the fallen (পবিত্র পাদন,) low in descent and occupation, we are afraid of speaking our minds to thee. Saviour of Jágai and Mádhai, have mercy on us. Of Mlech'ha descent, these sinners are incomparably more odious than those lordly Brahmans of Nuddea. Our race has sinned greatly against cows and Brahmans. We are dwarfs standing on tip toe to catch the moon. Stoop to mercy towards us.” Chaitanya rose and embraced them. “You are my good old servants,” said he, “Vishnu will save

* His first name changed into Sree Kishna Chaitanya on his becoming a Sanyasi.

you ; henceforth you shall be known to the world under the names of Rupa and Sanátan."

The act was one of great boldness. Synd Hossien Shah, a descendant of the prophet, was reigning in Gour. The brothers were high in the employ of Government.* And the Mahomedan law punished with death all concerned actively or passively in such conversions. It was plain that the act was one calculated to make Chaitanya the object of the most intense hatred to the whole Mahomedan population. It was also plain that it would make him equally odious to the great body of the Hindu population too. It was an act hitherto unparalleled in the history of India. Kabir and Nanak had indeed taken converts from Moslemdom ; but Kabir and Nanak were heresiarchs. Here was a conversion of the lowest Mlech'has to orthodox Hinduism.

From Gour he proceeded to Santipore. During his sojourn there in the house of his disciple Adwaita Achárya, he had an affecting interview with his mother, brought there at his request by Nityananda, afterwards the renowned apostle of Bengal. For a time both mother and child could do nothing but weep. Shachi seated him on her lap and wept again to think that the beautiful curls her maternal vanity had so fondly cherished were no more. "Behave not, my Nemie, my darling, even as your brother Vishwarupa behaves. Forget not the child in the Sanyasi." Chaitanya replied, "Ten millions of generations may elapse, and yet I shall be unable to pay off what I owe you. The body you have tended is your own. At all times I will be ready to do whatever you may command me to do. As a Sanyasi my heart may be weaned from every thing in this world. It never can be weaned from my mother."

Jaggannatha as the Avatar immediately succeeding Krishna was naturally the object of Chaitanya's adoration. Towards his shrine at Niláchala, (Pooree,) therefore, he bent his steps. On his way he gained one of the most distinguished of his proselytes. Accident brought him into contact with Sarbabhouma Bhattachárya, a profound scholar. That enthusiasm, that fascination of manner, that hearty embrace, those love-bespeaking eyes and smiles which succeeded so well with the common people, and even subdued the hearts of men intelligent and learned like Adwaita Achárya, failed to make any impression on the great pundit. The mysticism of the Bhagavadgitá was pressed into his service, and it succeeded remarkably well. Chaitanya began by premising that such learning as Sarbabhouma possessed, was of little use in enabling him to know things divine, and that the one great requisite for the attain-

* The popular story makes them Viziers.

ing of such knowledge was *faith*.* This, so far as it went, was well said. Chaitanya then launched out into a field of down-right pantheism,† and ended by expatiating on the infinite love of Hari. By conclusive arguments like these he succeeded in convincing the Pundit that Vishnu was not merely one of the threefold energies of the Supreme Brahm, as was the popular belief, but the Supreme Brahm himself, and as such the sole object of our worship. What a weapon mysticism is, when one has to deal with adversaries bewildered in the maze of schools !

After a short sojourn at Niláchala, he set out on a long course of pilgrimage throughout the Dekkan. He visited the Dandakáranya and other scenes which the poetry of Valmiki has embalmed in the memory of every Hindu. Srirangputtan (Seringapatam) charmed him much ; nor did he feel less delighted with bathing in the holy waters of the Cauvery. He continued travelling southward, till he reached Rámeshwara, the Indian terminus of the great bridge by which the Simiæan host of Ráma is said to have gone over to Ceylon. Many proselytes were gained, among whom were a number of Buddhists. In a conference at which many followers of the Sánkya, Vedanta and Pátanjala systems of philosophy were present, Bauddhachárya the chief of the Buddhists received a signal discomfiture from the dialectics of Chaitanya. His conversion, however, was due rather to the miraculous discovery and overthrow of a conspiracy he had formed against Chaitanya than to the logic of the great Vaishnava.

Princes and potentates solicited the favour of his company and were welcome when they sought it personally. He objected, however, strongly to any proposal for his visiting them in

* মনুষ্যাণাং সহস্রেষু কশ্চিদ্ব্যক্তি সিক্ষয়ে । যততামপি সিদ্ধানাং কশ্চিৎস্য
বেতি তত্ত্বতঃ ॥

Bhagavatgita, Ch. 7, ver. 3.

Translation of Sridharashwámis' explanatory comment on the above passage.

Without faith in me, it is impossible to know me. Among the innumerable living beings that people the earth, man only possesses the higher faculties. Among men, there are but few, who, by the efficacy of virtues treasured up in past transmigrations can *try* to attain self-knowledge. Of these, few succeed in knowing what their souls are, and of those few who succeed, still fewer can attain through my favour to the knowledge of the universal soul.

† ভূমিরাপোহনলো বায়ুঃ খং মনো বুদ্ধিরেব চ । অহঙ্কার ইতীয়াং যে ভিন্না
প্রকৃতিরঐখা ।

Bhagavatgita, Ch. 7, ver. 4.

Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, and intelligence and consciousness are but the eight modifications of my nature.

their courts. When Sarbabhouma brought a proposal like this from Rájá Pratápa Rudra, a devout worshipper of Jaggannátha by the bye, he said,

“The meek man who has set his heart on things divine and who strives to gain the other shore of the sea of Bhaba (the world) should shun women and the worldly-minded as something worse than poison.”*

Again.

“The very appearance of women and the worldly is to be dreaded.”†

One of his most famous miracles, the curing of the leper Básudeva was performed in the course of this journey. Returning to Niláchala, he found a great number of his disciples ready to accord to him the most enthusiastic reception.

As Sreebása was on the eve of going back to Nuddea, he called him aside one day and said, “My dear Sreebása, present this piece of cloth and this Prasada‡ of Juggannátha’s to my mother. Implore her for my sake to forgive me my sin in turning Sanyási, and not having stayed at home to serve her. I have acted foolishly. A foolish child has every right to the forgiveness of his mother.” (Chaitanya Charitámrita, B II. Ch. 15.)

To strengthen the faith of his followers by his presence and exhortations he undertook a journey to Bengal. Near Cuttack he converted a drunken and debauched Mahomedan zemindar whom he is said to have succeeded in reclaiming completely from the paths of vice. Returning to Orissa and spending there a short time, he started for Brindában with a single companion Balabhadra Bhattácharya. He left the beaten track and took an obscure way through the forest to elude his followers, who, he knew, would never part with him. The savage denizens of the wilderness gave way before him. Peacocks attended his journey warbling Hari.

At Jhareekhanda N. West of Orissa, he converted a Meech’ha tribe of Bheels. On his arrival at Benares, Vedantists, Idealists, and Mahratta Brahmans flocked to see the great Vaishnava of whom the fame went rife in the great metropolis of Hinduism. In a conference with a Vedantist he tried to expose the blindness and inconsistency of the man who, with Brahm, soul, and wisdom constantly on his lips, failed to per-

* নিকিঞ্চনস্য ভগবদ্ভক্তনোমুখস্য পাত্ৰং পরং জিণিমিষোত্তবসাগরম্ । সন্দ-
শনং বিষয়িনামর্থ যোষিতাক হা হত হত বিষভক্ষনতোহপ্যসাধুঃ ॥ Chaitanya
Chandroya Nataka, Act VIII. ver. 25.

† আকারাদপি ভেত্তব্যং স্ত্রীনাং বিষয়ি নামপি । Ditto ditto ver. 26.

‡ Something offered to an idol, the leavings of the dish of some venerable man.

ceive their obvious connection with Hari. It is unnecessary to add that he signally failed.

At Allahabad he was joined by his Mahomedan disciple Rupa. Ever since their conversion, the two brothers were constantly trying to retire from court and spend their lives in devotion. They found royal favour a bar to their spiritual advancement. Rupa made a shift to escape. Sanátan feigned sickness. The king* sent a physician to see him, who reported that he was in good health. He was summoned and asked what he meant by shamming. Sanátan avowed his apostacy from Islam, which he had hitherto been prevented from doing, not from any fear of the consequences that might befall himself, but from anxiety not to wound the feelings of a kind master. In respectful terms, equally remote from the insolent nonchalance of some victims of intolerance and the cringing dishonesty of others, he declared his readiness to submit to any penalty the law might inflict. He was thrown into prison. The royal heart soon, however, relented towards the faithful minister. Freedom was offered him, if he agreed to accompany the king in an expedition against Orissa. He declined the favour, saying that he could not with a safe conscience be accessory to the desecration of a land that contained the shrine of one of the most celebrated incarnations of Vishnu. The king made the incarceration more painful. In the meantime Sanátan had received from his brother a letter urging him not to lose a moment in joining the Mahápravu (as Chaitanya is called by his followers) at Brindában. The letter touched a responsive chord in Sanátan's bosom. With a conscience not altogether Socratic he bribed the jailor with Rs. 7,000 and escaped in disguise. Chaitanya embraced him and repeated the verses.

ন যে ভক্তশতদুর্ভেদী মদ্রুতঃ ঈপচঃ প্রিয়ঃ ।

তইন্দ্ৰ দেয়ং ততো গুহ্যং স চ পূজ্যো যথা হ্যহং ॥

"Dearer to me is the believing Chandala than the unbeliever versed in the 4 Vedas.

To him ye should give, his we should take, he should be venerated even as I am."

He then proceeded to expound to the two brothers the fundamental articles of the Vaishnava creed.

* No where is the name of this king mentioned. The Chaitanya Charitamrita gives but a chronological clue, and states that he was independent. "সনাতন কহে তুমি স্বতন্ত্র ঈন্দ্ৰেশ্বর ।" "And Sanatan said, You, the independent lord of Gour." B. II. P. 159.

It must be Syad Hussien Shah who reigned about this time in Gour and did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Lodis.

"Some happy being in the course of his travels through the universe, found out the seed of the creeper of faith. He sowed it. It sprouted. He tended it as a gardener and watered it with streams of Kirtuns. It waxed strong, rises to the empyrean, to Golakadhāma, the paradise of Krishna, and clasps the Kalpabriksha* of his feet."

"There are five stages of faith. The first and lowest is simply *contemplative* (শাস্ত্র) like that of the Rishis Sanaka and Yogendro. The second is *servile* (দাস্য) like that of men generally. The third is *friendly* (মিত্র) like the feeling with which Srecdāma and the Pāṇḍavas regarded Krishna. The fourth is *maternal*, *paternal* or *filial* (পিতৃভক্তি) like that of Yashodā, Devaki, &c. The fifth and highest is *amorous* or *loving* (মধুৰ) like that of Rādhā."

The most orthodox interpretation of the first passage is, that Chaitanya was the gardener who planted the creeper of faith (ভক্তিভূত) and that Gurus have succeeded him in his office of tending the plant. Thus, according to this version, every man to be saved must have the spiritual guidance of a Guru. But the heretical Vaishnava sect of the Spashtabadis scout the idea of the necessity of the spiritual guidance of men of contemptible morals as Gurus too often are, for the salvation of mankind. They are, however, far out-numbered by their opponents. And it cannot be denied that Guru worship is one of the worst features of Vaishnavism as it is. In the second passage, the proper relation between God and man is likened in bold language to the relation between man and wife, the carnal element being left out.

A good Vaishnava is defined to be

"One who is meeker than grass, is as patient as a tree, and always sings the praises of Hari."†

A good sort of Vaishnava is

"He who loves God, is a friend to the godly, pities the ignorant and contemns men hardened in impiety."‡

Faith of love (1) ; is held more than equivalent to good works (2) ; worship (3) ; wisdom, (4) ; ascetic self-denial, (5) ; abstract contemplation (6) ; and gifts (7.)

The doctrine of salvation by faith alone is nowhere explicitly, everywhere implicitly, taught.

* A tree that yields whatever fruit is asked of it.

1 প্রেমভক্তি 2 কর্ম 3 তপস্যা 4 জ্ঞান 5 বৈরাগ্য 6 যোগ 7 দান ।

† ভূবাদপি সুনীচেন, তরোরিব সহিষুনা, অব্যামিনাং মানদেন, কীৰ্ত্তনীয়ঃ সদা
হরিঃ Chaitanya Charitamrita.

‡ কেবলো তদধীনেষু বলিশেষে চ দিলংসুচ । প্রেম মৈত্রী কৃপাপেক্ষা যঃ করোতি
স যথায় । Chaitanya Bhagabata.

The philosophy is pantheistic. Salvation or rather redemption (মুক্তি) follows as soon as a man loses the consciousness of his own existence as an individual, and comes to regard the universal soul as the sole entity, and individual souls as nonentities, the creations of Mâyá.

But this knowledge is attained not through a process of pure contemplation, of pure intellection as the Vedánta maintains; but through emotion, through love. The higher philosophy does indeed regard the emotions as not wholly useless at the outset; but they are to be discarded as disturbing elements as soon as a man has advanced a certain stage. In the system of Chaitanya, however, love is all in all.

The creed is a system of asceticism. Some of the sayings of Chaitanya already quoted, establish this beyond all doubt. Chaitanya himself and almost all the most devout of his followers, Haridasa, Raghunátha, Rámánanda were all rigid ascetics.* Indeed all Vaishnavas who pretend to extraordinary sanctity call themselves Vairágis (ascetics), though it must be acknowledged that the morals of a large proportion of these men are shamelessly loose, a kind of left hand marriage or rather concubinage being but too common among them.

There can be no doubt that Chaitanya was a kind of sufeist, in whose view the connexion between Krishna and Rádhá was something like the mystical union between Christ and the Church. There are grave Mahomedan doctors who believe that the Anacreonitics of Hafiz and Roumi are the effusions of the sincerest piety, that their apparent carnality is owing to the anxiety of the poets to adapt them to vulgar comprehension by 'likening things immortal to things mortal.' Similar seems to have been Chaitanya's view of the amatory legends in the Sreemadbhágavata. The accomplished priest of Advaita at Nuddea, whose sincerity I have no reason to question, told me that he was a sufeist, as were all the more intelligent among his brethren. One of his arguments was, that if the connexion between Krishna and Rádhá had been carnal, they would have left some issue to testify to such connexion, which however they have not; that, by presenting the union as at once carnal and fruitless, the Sreemadbhágavata would make its hero impotent, which he says is blasphemous. All this, however well it may speak for the sentiments of the man, speaks

* Of Raghunátha it is said that he never tasted anything sweet and never wore anything but rags.

আজন্ম সে না দিল জিহ্বায় শ্রবণের স্পর্শন ।

ছিঁড়া কাছা কাজি বিনা না পরে বসন ॥

Chait. Char. B. 3.

very little for his penetration ; for admitting that an allegorical meaning could be attached to the connexion, what was the use of those gross details in the chapter on Rāsa Līlā, so revolting to all feelings of delicacy ?

From the doctrines of Chaitanya, we turn to his life. In a field near Brindāban he converted five Patans. A hymn to Krishna had so affected his nervous system, as to bring on a fit of epilepsy. While prostrate on the ground he was foaming at his mouth, curiosity brought five Patans to the spot to see what was the matter with him. They were observed by ten sowars who were riding at full speed across the field. Pretending to believe that the Patans had poisoned the traveller with the narcotic juice of the solana dhatura, and hoping to extort something from them, they fell to pinioning and torturing the hapless wayfarers.

Krishna Dasa, the Rajput neophyte, who was weeping by the side of his master, interceded strongly on their behalf, and as Chaitanya soon came back to his senses succeeded in effecting their release. A conversation ensued between Chaitanya and the Patans, which resulted in the conversion of the latter to Vaishnavism. Chaitanya exposed the inconsistencies of the Koran by many an argumentum ad hominem,* admitted that it contained one great truth, viz. that there is but one God, and proved to their satisfaction, that this God was none other than the black Krishna of Brindāban.

In the course of this discussion, Chaitanya had occasion to speak of the attributes of the deity, and this he does in a strain which leaves no room for doubt, that his Krishna is a very different being from the rosy man of pleasure, the popular legends make him. These arguments had their desired effect, and Chaitanya was throughout Upper India nicknamed the "Patan Gosain."†

There have been men like Mahomed who beginning as impostors have ended as sincere believers in their own mission. There have been men like many a catholic priest of the middle ages, who (strange human nature !) from a sincere desire to promote religion have not scrupled to resort to 'pious' frauds. It appears from a calm review of his life, that Chaitanya was not one of these men. On the contrary, the impression left by a study of his sayings and deeds is, that he was as sincere an enthusiast as ever breathed. The only charge that can be brought against his sincerity is that, when a youth just emerging from boyhood, he once deceived his

* "অরি শাস্ত্রের যুক্তি প্রত্যাখ্যান করিল ষড়ন"

† পাঠান গোশাই বলি খ্যাতি তার হইল।

been of all others chosen to conduct this important mission is to us a mystery. The fact seems to be, that Chaitanya was, of all men, the one most likely to be imposed upon by hypocritical rant, and that Nityananda's well acted enthusiasm gave him a complete ascendancy over his master.

Every revolution, nay every great movement, finds a class of men ready to act the part of base instruments for the sake of rioting in license with impunity. The pious leaders of the crusades stooped to ally themselves with men, miscalled soldiers of the cross, who, on the taking of Constantinople, desecrated the Cathedral of St. Sophia by trampling the Madonna and the saints under foot, and seating a prostitute on the altar. Men of the unbending integrity of Carnot did not disdain to employ the agency of the mob of Faubourg St. Antoine. It was not to be expected therefore that a man like Nityananda would scruple to enlist such men in his spiritual militia. The immorality of the lowest class of "Vairagis"* is partly to be traced to this source. A co-efficient cause doubtless is the facility with which divorces can be obtained by them.

Facilities of divorce have operated detrimentally in Revolutionary France, and in one or two of the petty German States, Franconia, for instance; and the illustrious German reformer's apparent connivance at the divorce of the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel is said to have tended powerfully to demoralise Wittemberg.

"The chaste Lucretia" says Rousseau "worshipped the unchaste Venus," and indeed there seems to be something in human nature which makes men better than bad speculative doctrines would tend to make them. In our own country, the small sect of the Bámachari Sháktas (worshippers of Bhabáni) would to a man become besotted debauchees, did they not find an expedient which raises them above the dogmas they hold. The Shymá Rahasya Tantra enjoins them to use wine as their ordinary drink, and to sprinkle wine on everything they eat. They have, however, found out a substitute for wine in cocoa-nut water poured into a vessel of white brass. And the consequence is, that a large proportion of the Bámácharis can boast of being as sober as any Rechabite or teetotaler in the world. In like manner it is but bare justice to the more respectable classes of Vaishnavas to state in the most emphatic terms that, in spite of the example of the god they almost exclusively venerate and adore, the standard of chastity among them is as high as among their neighbours. It would, however, be going too far to assert that an example like this, can be perfectly innocuous—especially when brought so constantly and so prominently forward.

* See Appendix B.

And it is to be feared that in the case of the lower order of Chaitanya's followers at least not a few ignorant, unsophisticated Vaishnavas, strangers to the mystical meaning attached by their more philosophic brethren to the legends concerning Krishna and the milkmaids of Brindāban, allow their conduct to be in a great measure influenced by the example of the object of their exclusive adoration, forgetting that their master Chaitanya enjoined the strictest purity of life by precept and example.

On the same footing with the lowest Vairāgis in point of morality stand the great Gosains of towns. Some idea of the character of these men (honourable exceptions being of course made), may best be conveyed by likening them to those fat, sleek, sensual, jolly Norman-priests of whom the Prior Aymer in "Ivanhoe" was the true type. Besides good living and idleness, that which chiefly tends to corrupt their morals is the circumstance of their taking the spiritual guidance of women of bad note. The writer of this little essay had once the opportunity of representing to a distant Gosain relation of his, the impropriety of such a course. The answer he received was very like the sophism of the Jesuit P  re Bauny, so eloquently assailed by Pascal.*

We have said the worst that could be said of thousands who pretend to belong to the flock of Chaitanya; for no admiration of the man should betray us into an admiration of the practical working of the system, corrupted as it has been by the sale of indulgences, which, for the purposes of nominal conversion, Nityananda and his successors preached. It must be observed, however, that the Gosains are no more the guardians of Chaitanyaism in its purity than the Jesuits were of the religion of Jesus.

In the last stage of his life, the enthusiasm of Chaitanya seems to have amounted to a morbid frenzy. His habit of falling down insensible on the earth in fits of ecstatic devotion, seems to have gained upon him with his advancing years. In the course of one of his nocturnal peregrinations he came to the beach. It was a beautiful night in spring. The moon, says Krishna D  sa, was shining resplendently on the dark waves of the Chilka Lake, turning it into a rippling mass of molten gold. To the crazed imagination of Chaitanya, it was but the golden waters of the holy Jumna with Krishna

* "It is lawful to expose ourselves to circumstances which may prove to us the occasion of sin, when it is for the purpose of promoting the spiritual or temporal welfare of ourselves or of our neighbours. For instance, it is lawful for any one to repair to places of public resort for the purpose of converting abandoned females from their sins, although he may consider it probable that he may fall into sin from having often before been led into temptation on such occasions."—Provincial Letters, XV.

sporting on the surface. He rushed into the water to embrace the phantom conjured up by his heat-oppressed brain and was drowned. Some fishermen who had cast in their nets near the shore, hauled up the fragile frame on which ascetic mortification had half-accomplished the work which water finished. According to the popular account there were some signs of animation in his countenance when brought to land, and it is added that the name of Hari restored him completely to life, and that after spending some days with his disciples, he disappeared mysteriously. But the truth seems to be that this was the last scene of his life.

Thus perished in the forty-eighth year of his age the most remarkable man that Bengal ever produced. His chief glory consists, not in his having asserted "Dearer to me is the believing Chandala than the unbeliever versed in the four Vedas," but in his having practically carried out the idea. One of the most amiable traits in his character was his extreme humanity towards the inferior animals. His biographers do not think it beneath their dignity to notice the great tenderness with which he treated a dog of his disciple Shivanunda's, one of the most unclean of animals, by the bye, according to Hindu notions. On the whole, this we may say of him, that had he been as intelligent as he was loving, believing, and sincere, and above all, had his veneration been properly directed, he would have ranked high among the benefactors of his species.

Chaitanya has received divine honors. One of the fundamental articles of the Vaishnava creed in Bengal is, that he was the "Gourāṅga-Avatar,"—the incarnation of the incorporate essence of the sable Krishna and the fair Rādhā.

No ruins now mark the spot that ushered Chaitanya into the world. The ravages of the stream have swept away every vestige of his paternal abode. Indeed, the sites of old Nuddea and new Nuddea are as distinct as those of old Tyre and new Tyre, or of old Delhi and new Delhi. New Nuddea is on the right bank of the river, old Nuddea was on the left. Besides aquatic encroachments, old Nuddea seems to have suffered from a more terrible geological catastrophe—a general submergence of its level. During the rains, nothing is to be seen of the city of Bullāl Sen, but a vast sheet of water with the Bullāl mound peeping out of it, and feebly attesting the byegone grandeur of the place, the awful silence of desolation being only broken by the chirping of a heron or the shrill note of a kingfisher. New Nuddea now is the Nuddea of Chaitanya. Here he has a temple managed by the family of his unhappy wife Vishnupria, and an image to which the statuary had idealty enough

to give a benevolent expression. In a corner sits a hale old man of sixty, reading, smiling, weeping, muttering pious ejaculations, and singing in a plaintive strain “কবে আমি গৌর পাৰ, কবে গৌরাঙ্গী হব”

“When shall I have Gouranya, when shall I become his consort.” Scandal, so foul-mouthed about the immorality of the great Gosains, has never been able to espy the slightest taint of carnality in the character of the austere monk. Glorify Hari, utter a sentiment that chimes in with his—he will rise and embrace you. Strong faith he has ; truth in one sense (and that not the very highest of course) he has ; and when there is nothing to call forth his bigotry, he seems to be a man who loves his fellowmen. But of that exalted charity which when united with these noble attributes, elevates a man above ordinary humanity, he does not seem to possess any large share. Such is Chaitanya Dása Bábáji—the model Vaishnava—the living impersonation of all the best and all the worst features of Chaitanyaism.

“What after all,” it may be asked, “has Chaitanya done?” He has done one great thing. He has proved that the Hindu mind has not been stereotyped. His history is the history of the progress of a great idea in Hindustan. In the 6th century before the Christian era, Buddha Sakya Muni had preached that of all monopolies which the human race had ever been cursed with, the worst was that of religion.* This protest against the exclusivism of the dominant faith, was continued with more or less success by a host of subsequent reformers. About the end of the fourteenth century, Rámánanda founded a sect into which he admitted men of all castes. Rai Dása, one of his favourite disciples was a shoe-maker, a caste not superior in social status to the lowest Chandála. Kabir, the most energetic of Rámánanda’s followers, founded a new sect and carried out the liberal principles of his master, with so much boldness and yet with such moderation, and made such approaches towards a pure monotheistic creed, that, at his death, it is said there occurred a dispute between the Hindus and Mahomedans as to whether his body should be burned or buried.

Náuak, who might be called the spiritual son of Kabir, founded in the beginning of the 16th century, the world-renowned

* In order to overthrow one of the oldest religions of the world, it was sufficient that one man should challenge the authority of the Brahmans the gods of the earth (Bhūdeva) and preach among the scorned and degraded creatures of God, the simple truth that salvation was possible without the mediation of priests and without a belief in books to which these very priests had given the title of revelation. This was Buddha Sakya Muni.—Dr. Max Muller.

Khálsa, thus carrying out the spirit of innovation still further. Chaitanya, his contemporary in Bengal, did not indeed try to effect reforms so radical. But he too preached a crusade against caste. The theological works most esteemed by his followers are the works of his great Mahomedan disciples Rupa and Sanátan.* Nor is the anti-caste movement yet idle. Scarcely more than half a century has elapsed since there arose at Ghoshpará near Hooghly, the sect of the Kartábhajás which bids fair soon to number a million of members.

These anti-caste movements are, be it remembered, very unlike the lip movements so common in and about Calcutta. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Behar, Allahabad and Agra are Rámánandas. Tulsi Dása whose Hindi version of the Ramayan exercises a more extensive influence on the popular mind in India than any other literary work whatever, was a Rámánanda.

The Kabirpanthis have innumerable ramifications throughout the whole of the North-West Provinces; and though, for avoiding persecution, they profess outward conformity, the spirit of their founder does not seem to be wholly extinct among them.†

The Khálsa, though fallen, is as glorious as ever. A third of the population of Bengal is composed of the followers of Chaitanya. And if we exclude half a million of fat, temporising Gosains, we shall find the rest nearly true to the spirit of the Nuddea saint, in one respect at least. All these facts tend to show that the Hindu mind is not so hopelessly wedded to prejudice and antiquity, that there is no chance of its regeneration. Even from the errors of Chaitanyaism, we may draw one consoling inference.

"The Romanist produces repose by means of stupefaction. The Protestant encourages activity, though he knows that where there is much activity, there will be some aberration. And just as we may from the great number of rogues in a town infer, that much honest gain is made there, so may we often from the quantity of error in a community, draw a cheering inference as to the degree in which the public mind is turned to those inquiries which alone can lead to rational convictions of truth."—*Lord Macaulay*.

Beerbhoom, Dec. 2nd, 1860.

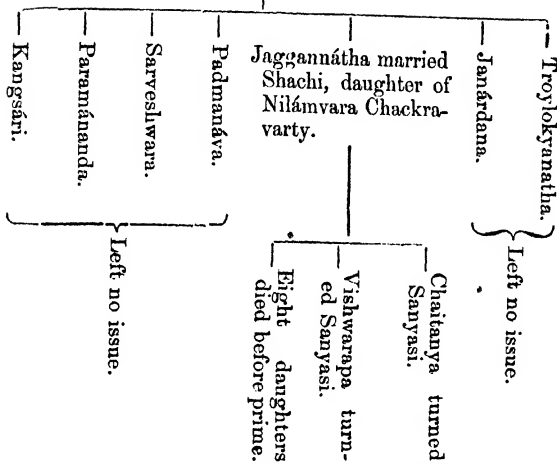
* The Bidagdha Madhaba and Lalita Madhaba of Rupa. The Haribhakti Vilasa and Rásamrita Sindhu of Sanátan.

† Wilson on Hindu Sects—Tattwabodhinee Pattrica.

APPENDIX.

A.

Family of Chaitanya.
Oopendra Misra of Sylhet.



With Chaitanya perished the great Vaidic family of Sāmvedi Bhāradwājas. (Sāmvedi those who profess to be guided by the Sāmveda specially.) Almost all Rahree Brahmans, the majority of the Brahmans in and about Calcutta, are Sāmvedis. Among the Vaidics Rigvedis and Yajurvedis are comparatively numerous. Bhāradwājas, descendants of the great Rishi Bhāradwāja. All the Mookerjeas who are Rahree Brahmans are Sāmvedi Bhāradwājas.

Among the Vaidic Brahmans, though there are numerous Bhāradwājas and numerous Sāmvedis, Sāmvedi Bhāradwājas are extinct.

B.

The Bengal Vaishnavas.

The Bengal Vaishnavas are divided into two great classes, the secular Vaishnavas and the Vairāgis or ascetics. Initiation into the Vairāgya Asrama is attended with (1), the shaving of the head save a small tuft on the crown; (2), bathing; (3),

putting on the Dore, Kaupin, Bahirvása, Teeluk, Mûdrá and Trikant'hi. Dore, a girdle. Kaupin, a narrow strip of cloth put on longitudinally and attached at the extremities to the Dore, the only covering which gymnosophists have modesty enough to wear. It is emblematic of the absence of passion. Bahirvása—a covering descending from the girdle to the knee.

Teeluk, marks of ochre or white sanders on the forehead. Red sanders, sacred to Káli and Shiva, the destroyers, they detest. Mûdra, Harinámas printed on the body from wooden blocks moistened with sanders. Trikant'hi, a threefold rosary of the sacred Tulsi wood, worn round the neck.

(4) A rupee and quarter is to be paid to the Guru as the fee of initiation.

The only *luxury* a Vairági is to be indulged with, is a Karanga or brass mug.

The Vairágis were a strictly monastic order. As in the case of the German clergy before the Reformation (Hume), it has been found necessary to legalise a kind of left-hand marriage among them. The fee for the marriage contract is a rupee and quarter. It can be dissolved at the pleasure of either party on the payment of the same sum to the Guru. The Vairágis bury their dead. They have no objection to pay homage to Durga who, they say was a Vaishnavi. But from Káli they as well as their secular brethren recoil with horror, as if she were a she-devil. Shiva they hold in nearly the same degree of detestation. The Sreemadbhágavat denounces the worship of (Bhava) Shiva in the strongest terms; and Chaitanya when at Benares did not visit the famous shrine of Visheshwara. They hate the Tamogûna, the destroying principle, of which Shiva and his wife Káli are the impersonations. Bloody sacrifices all Vaishnavas are enjoined to abhor, nor are they permitted to eat the flesh of a goat sacrificed or otherwise killed. Indeed, the more orthodox among them have carried their abhorrence of blood so far as to erase the word 'cut' from their vocabulary. "Prepare this brinjal for the kitchen," said a Gosain relation of mine to a cousin of his. He would never use the word "cut," the ordinary expression. Strange as this scruple may appear, there are few Hindus who have not had opportunities of marking it.

A Vairági may be of any caste, and all Vairágis are on a level. The Gosains, however, have entirely lost the spirit of their master. They enjoin a high caste convert and a low caste convert to eat with each other, and connect their families by intermarriage; but they seldom have the moral courage to practise these things themselves. They have not moral courage enough to convert a Mahomedan. When the precedent of

Chaitanya in the case of Rupa and Sanátan is urged, the reply that the Maháprabhu is the almighty Krishna himself, and can do anything, and that Rupa and Sanátan never ate anything unclean before their conversion, which is a fib.

The Vaishnava disciple, the organization of the hierarchy, &c. are almost wholly due to Nityananda and his successors. Chaitanya troubled himself very little with these things.

REPORT
ON THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECTION ON SANITARY IM-
PROVEMENT DURING THE SESSION OF 1859-60,

BY
BABOO NOBIN KRISTO BOSE.

The 24th January, 1861.

IN appearing before you, this evening, Gentlemen, I need hardly tell you, that, as President of the Medical Section of the Society, it was for Dr. Mouat to have addressed you on the present occasion ; and were he at his post, I myself perhaps would have had little more to do than, in common with you, sit down to a rich repast. But ill-health having kept him away, the stewardship for the time has devolved on my humble self ; and, in discharging its functions, in place of one so able and experienced as Dr. Mouat, is it necessary for me to say—I stand in need of considerable indulgence on your part ?

The topics to be touched upon in this report, have for their object, more or less directly, the preservation of health,—a matter always of the greatest importance in itself, but growing still in urgency and interest with the progress of civilization and the arts. In the hunting and nomadic state, men necessarily dwell apart from one another, each requiring a considerable extent of ground as the sphere of his operations. Each may be said, therefore, to live in an atmosphere peculiarly his own, and local causes of disease can tell but on few at a time. But when the awakened spirit of commercial and manufacturing industry draws men by hundreds and thousands even under a common roof, and myriads and millions come to reside within the narrow precincts of busy cities and towns ; not only do the ordinary causes of disease attain a much higher degree of intensity by reason of operating on vast multitudes at once, but new and artificial ones are engendered,—bursting out, at times, in

fearful scourges to the human race. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, that commercial and industrial prosperity should always go hand-in-hand with a well regulated system of sanitary reform ; as, otherwise, not all the developed resources of the world could compensate for one foul epidemic, which, by contaminating the air and water, it might be the means of calling into being. Unhappily, however, the very idea of the *preventibility* of disease is one of modern origin. Men, in all ages, no doubt, whether by incantations and charms, or nostrums and pills, have tried to administer relief to the sick and diseased. But it is almost to our own times, that we have to look for any effectual step towards eradicating the very seeds of fevers and plagues. Nor is there aught in this to wonder at. The laws, which govern the course of vital phenomena, are among the most subtle and complex in the whole range of human enquiry. Each phenomenon of life, in fact, has to be traced to a complicated intersection of causes, which, besides being difficult to unravel in themselves, are liable to a thousand disturbing influences the least of which may materially interfere with the result. Hence all seems anomalous and without order. Causes being present, we apparently miss the effect ; and effects are observed in the absence of any tangible or perceptible cause. In this seeming state of confusion, men naturally felt as if health and disease belonged to the chapter of accidents alone, and had recourse only to supernatural measures for averting evils which appeared to be so very capricious in their course. It was only by patient and laborious observation, therefore, and going, as it were, through a course of preparatory discipline in the rigidly inductive schools of astronomy and general physics, that the human mind was trained to trace, with any exactness, the tangled threads of the science of life. Indeed, even now, notwithstanding all the ingenuity brought to bear upon scientific investigations, and all the light derived from the progress of the collateral branches of knowledge, we but imperfectly understand the causes of disease. The more tangible ones, no doubt, have been brought under cognition ; but others, more subtle, have hitherto eluded our means of analysis and research. But though our knowledge may not be perfect, it is not valueless on that account ; and it will appear from the sequel to what extent it is in our power, at present, to avert the sufferings of disease, and the pangs of untimely death.

It is not intended here, however, to enter into a systematic discussion of the various conditions of health. The object which the Section I have the honor to represent this evening, has got in view, is entirely of a practical character. It is to

investigate into the dietary and habits generally of the people, as well as the sanitary state of towns and villages in different parts of the country ; to ascertain what the prevailing diseases in these several parts may be ; to trace, so far as possible, these diseases to errors of diet and modes of living, or the absence of good local sanitary arrangements ; and then to see what may be left in the shape of residual phenomena to be accounted for by the unavoidable effects of climate, or the other more occult agencies affecting and influencing human health. It will thus be found how much of the ailments and mortality among the people is owing to causes which it is in our own power to avert or remove, and how much owing to those which, in the present state of knowledge, are beyond human control. Manifest it is, however, that for the successful prosecution of an inquiry like this, an enormous amount of labour must be undergone, and materials patiently collected for years, before any general inferences can be ventured upon. The Society ought not to feel disappointed, therefore, if its Medical Section has no very brilliant results to lay before it this evening. It should rather consider it a hopeful sign, if, during the short period it has been in existence, the Section has, in the difficult undertaking it has proposed to itself, made a start, at least, in the right direction.

I have been at some pains myself to search for any previously recorded facts bearing on the inquiries in question ; but I cannot say with much success. The physicians who early visited the country on the advent of British power, confounded and amazed at the frightful ravages which fever, dysentery, and hepatitis were committing round them, scarcely knew how even to deal with maladies which presented to them such a new and uncouth aspect. In a state of anxious amazement, 'putrid bile' was laid hold of by them as the great mischief-maker in every case ; and their learning and ingenuity had full occupation in devising expedients for the expulsion of this noted culprit from the system. From the labours of these worthies, therefore, not much in the shape of instructive information can be derived. When sounder views of tropical pathology began to prevail, the discovery of appropriate methods of treatment naturally, in the first instance, absorbed the attention of medical men. And, hence, while during the earlier part of the present century, we meet with several important works on the nosology and treatment of tropical maladies, one devoted to the subject of tropical hygiene is scarcely to be found. But this is only another illustration of *curative*, taking the precedence of *preventive*, medicine. In the year 1822, however, the formation of the Medical and Physical Society of

Calcutta, through the exertions of Dr. Adam, gave a new and powerful impulse to the efforts of the profession ; and questions relating to climatic influences, medical topographies of districts, and the origin and progress of epidemics, began, thenceforth, to excite increasing interest and attention. It is only to be regretted that the early dissolution of this learned body prevented it from developing its full measure of usefulness, and carrying out the inquiries which it had so auspiciously commenced.

Dispersed through the *Transactions* of the Society, still, (extending over a period of 18 years from 1825 to 1843) are to be found a great many papers presenting much that is valuable in reference to the inquiries now in hand. Among others there will be found a series of memoirs on the prevailing epidemics of the country, replete with interest not only to the student of medicine, but to every soul living and breathing on India's soil. Of these, therefore, interspersed with a little additional matter from other sources, I have prepared a slight analysis to be laid before the Society, as well with a view to convey some idea of the nature of the epidemics themselves, and of the circumstances under which they are noticed to have occurred, as to impress on the mind the extent of devastations, which, almost without intercession, they are committing in some part of the country or other.

In the very first volume of the *Transactions*, then, we meet with notices of an ephemeral fever, somewhat resembling the scarlatina, which prevailed epidemically during 1824-25. It is said to have broken out simultaneously at Rangoon and Guzerat,—covered a large portion of Eastern Bengal, extending even to the Presidency of Madras,—and reached Calcutta within a few days of its first appearance at Rangoon. It commenced about the end of May, attained its height in the course of a few days, continued unabated till about the middle of July, and then gradually declining seemed to pass away. After a few months' intermission, however, it broke out afresh at Berhampore, about the beginning of April next, visited Patna, Benares, Chunar, and other stations along the coast of the river, and then raging for the two or three ensuing months, finally disappeared in September. In its course it spared neither condition, sex, nor age ; and though unattended with any very great mortality, left those it had attacked in a state of extreme debility and prostration. The year of its occurrence is noted as being, notwithstanding the early setting in of the rains, singularly sultry and oppressive, and characterised by a peculiar hazy and loaded state of the atmosphere.

Singularly contrasted with the above is the epidemic next to

be noticed ; and which, consisting of a severe bronchitic fever, raged over lower Bengal during the rains of 1828. Its ravages extended from Calcutta to Maldah, but were confined almost exclusively amongst children—chiefly those of European parents. Among them, however, it proved very fatal,—death often occurring even within 24 hours. Very few children are said to have escaped the attack.

The year following witnessed a bilious remittent fever which commenced at Hansee about the end of June, and assuming the epidemic form, spread in a northerly and easterly direction, over Sirhind, Delhi, Meerut, and other places. Its mortality like that of the fever of 1824-25, was small ; but like it, it left the patients extremely exhausted and enfeebled, so as to make them linger through a protracted convalescence. The year, too, is noted as one in which unusual early rains were followed in the district of Meerut, at least, by an exceedingly hot and oppressive weather.

In 1832, Calcutta was visited by a severe form of small-pox, which breaking out in March, went on increasing in fatality until, having reached its acme in December, it gradually began to decline. Its ravages did not entirely cease, however, till the ensuing June. The number of men, women, and children carried off by it, has been estimated at near three thousand.

Concurrently with it, there also prevailed an epidemic fever in some of the Upper Provinces—Bareilly, Meerut, Indore, &c. ; but fortunately this did not prove very fatal in its effects.

But scarcely had Calcutta time to breathe from the effects of the destructive epidemic to which it had been so long a prey, when a severe remittent fever began to show itself. It broke out first near Diamond Harbour at the end of May ; and thence, through the intervening villages, made its appearance in Calcutta about the middle of July. It was the peculiar congestive remittent of Bengal, and proved very fatal in its course. This year (1833) again, the hot months, are said to have been unusually sultry and hot ; and on the 22nd of May, a strong gale caused the river to overflow, and destroy cattle and cultivation for several miles upwards from the sea. To the other causes of disease, therefore, may, in this instance, be added the effects of famine.

The year 1836 is a memorable one in the history of Indian epidemics. It is the year of the famous Julia plague,—the most malignant pest that ever threatened to desolate the country. But though this be the year in which it first excited general attention, it may be traced so far back as 1815 in the province of Guzerat, and which the year before had suffered from a terrible famine. With the rains of 1819, it broke out again in the

northern part of Guzerat, and overspread the eastern districts of Ahmedabad. From this time no more is heard of it until the year under notice, when it burst forth anew at Marwar, in a village of the name of Pali,—bordering upon a low and swampy jheel, and covered with unclean bazars, and narrow, irregular, and filthy alleys. From Pali, the malady propagated itself, whether by contagion or not, (for on this point opinion seems to be divided) to other parts of Marwar, and continued its ravages for upwards of a year. The mortality was dreadful, being supposed to be not less than 75 per cent.

Simultaneously with the plague, during the earlier part of the year, there raged also a bilious remittent at Moradabad and the adjacent districts, and which, too, was attended with very fatal results. Unlike the Bengal epidemic, however, this cannot be traced to any manifest local cause, for few places in the country are 'more free from jungle, morasses, &c., than Moradabad.' But it is said to have been attended with a great scarcity of rain, there not being more than a third of the usual fall. Towards the close of the year, the disease again shewed itself at Bareilly, and produced considerable mortality among the inmates of the jail.

In 1837, small-pox again appeared in Calcutta, and both in the course it ran, and the fatality it produced, bore a close resemblance to the visitation of 1832.

The same year was marked likewise by a destructive remittent of the bilious type prevailing epidemically at Delhi and its neighbourhood. Some idea of the extreme fatality with which it was attended may be formed from the fact, that, in a village near Paniput, out of a population of 500 families, near 200 individuals died within six weeks, and in another 230 died within 27 days out of a population of little more than a thousand. The state of the villages which suffered with such terrible severity, is described as being extremely overcrowded and dirty, and the season, during which the malady prevailed, as being characterised by days exceedingly hot but followed by chilly nights. While the fever was raging all around, however, the troops of the division are reported to have continued in a perfectly good state of health.

Passing over some epidemics of a comparatively minor kind, and presenting nothing very peculiar in their history, we come next to the great *Muhamari* of Gurhwal. This pestilential distemper, closely allied to the plague, is said to have appeared first near Kedarnauth in 1823, and confined its ravages for some time only to a couple of pergunnahs—Nagpore and Budhan. Gradually, however, it spread over the surrounding pergunnahs, and breaking out with extreme virulence, during

the rains of 1849, in a place called Patti, committed fearful havoc in several of the villages of Gurhwal. It deserves here to be stated that the whole of this province also is noticed as being remarkable for poverty and filth ;—the majority of the inhabitants living on bad and insufficient food, and obliged, from the severity of the cold, to forego all benefit of open air, and, for the sake of mutual warmth, remain crowded together in low and filthy hovels.

In 1849, Calcutta and the suburbs were also overrun by one of the most fatal small-pox visitations, with which the country has ever been afflicted. Another had occurred before in 1843. Both commenced in November ;—differing in this respect, therefore, from the epidemics of 1832 and 1837, which had broken out with the return of the hot weather. But the fact most worthy of mention, in this place, is that in 1843, the health of the troops at Dum Dum and Barrackpore, and in 1849 that of the troops and other residents in the garrison of Fort William, continued to be in every way good and satisfactory, while the population was being decimated all around.

No notice as yet has been taken of that formidable pest—the cholera,—not because, during the period under review, it never shewed itself in an epidemic form, but because since 1817, when it broke out with a terrible severity in some of the Southern districts of Bengal, it has never been fairly absent from some part of the country or other. Let it not be supposed, however, that this was the year of its first appearance in India. Even in European works on the subject, it has been traced so far back as 1780, when it produced a most fearful mortality—destroying near 20,000 lives,—among the pilgrims at Harridwar. Earlier than this, however, (if we except, perhaps, some vague notice of its appearance at Madras a few years before), there is no account of it to be met with in any of them ;—although mere suppositions are not wanting as to its having been in India from a long time past. Yet, that the malady has infested the country from the remotest period, seems evident from the minute and vivid description, which, under the name of the *Bishuchikā* (बिषुचिका) occurs of it in the *Shusrutum* (सूत्रतम), one of the oldest medical works of the Hindus, and compiled from the lectures of *Dhānidantari* by his pupil *Shusruto*, the son of *Bissā Mittra*. In the following couplet (making allowance, perhaps, for a little transposition in the order of symptoms to suit the metre of verse,) who will not recognise a case of cholera even such as it occurs at the present day ?

सूक्ष्मतिसारौ वमथुः पिपासा शूलं क्षमोद्वेष्टनं ज्वरभटाः ।

वैवर्यं कम्पौ हृदये राजस्य भवन्ति तस्यां शिरसश्च भेदः ॥

'Coma, excessive purging, vomiting, thirst, colic pains, wandering of mind, cramps, yawning, restlessness, discoloration of the surface, tremors, oppression of the chest, and headache, occur in it,'—i. e. the Bishuchiká. It appears, notwithstanding, that the disease, in its pestilential form at least, either used to occur at long intervals from the first, or at any rate, was in a state of abeyance for a considerable number of years previously to 1817. For I have been assured by every old man with whom I have conversed on the subject, that during the earlier period of his life, he never witnessed cholera in the severe form in which it so commonly shews itself at present. Since the fatal year adverted to, however, it has not only repeatedly devastated every part of this vast peninsula, but passing through 'hot, cold, moist, and dry,' visited every creek and corner of the habitable world.

The foregoing sketch, slight and imperfect as it is, will serve at least to shew how ripe the country has at all times been to be mowed down by epidemic pests; and how ill it becomes us all to remain supine while liable at every instant to such dreadful visitations. But, it will be asked, perhaps, what is to be done? Are we not as much in the dark still as ever in regard to the specific causes by which pestilences are generated and produced? Has not the subtle effluvium which deals destruction over the land, defied hitherto all the resources of chemical analysis? How then, is it possible to avert or remove what we have not been even so much as able to detect? How, in fact, can we be otherwise than helpless where all being involved in darkness, our senses avail us naught? But though we may be ignorant at present of the precise nature of epidemic poisons, and of the manner in which their development and propagation are favoured or otherwise by a host of atmospheric relations and peculiarities, connected with climate and season, the falls of rain and the course of winds,—and various meteorological vicissitudes, thermotic, hygrometric, and electrical;—we know still for certain something at least. Even the most virulent epidemics, we find, while sweeping off a part of the population of a place, leave the other part more or less untouched. Indeed, it is a common saying that epidemics die out for want of further materials to feed upon. Now, this want of further materials cannot, and happily does not, mean the want of more men, women, and children; for there is always a goodly number who escape. It must mean, therefore, the want of more men, women, and children, prepared or predisposed in a certain way for the poison of the epidemic to take effect upon. And hence the question becomes important—in what this preparation or predisposition consists? In its higher and more strictly scientific

bearings, however, a question like this, it is evident, must necessarily involve some intricate physiological discussions, into which it would be quite out of place to enter here. It may be briefly stated, therefore, as the result of the most modern researches on the subject, that the state of the system which renders it the most readily susceptible to any prevailing distemper, is that in which there is an excess of effete matter present in the blood. This effete matter, in fact, has the effect of inducing more or less of a putrescent state, i. e. a state approaching by some degrees to the one which supervenes on the occurrence of death,—and by which, as a consequence, the general vitality of the system being depressed, its power of resisting the morbid influences around, is likewise reduced. Now, the excess in question may result either from the predominance of the wasting over the reparative process, or the imperfect elimination of the products of ordinary disintegration from obstruction in the channels of exit; or it may be owing to the introduction direct of morbid materials into the system from without;—conditions of which one and all may be readily shewn to be powerfully abetted and promoted by defective nutriment and impure air. And, accordingly, the unhallowed potency of these, as fosterers of pestilential maladies, has been a matter even of ordinary observation and remark. Yet, inasmuch as pestilences have been witnessed at times where wretchedness, over-crowding, and reeking dirt were not to be seen, and on the other hand, have not raged incessantly where these abound; any sort of causal relation between the two has been questioned, of late, even in some respectable quarters. But as to the first part of the objection, it only needs to be remarked that the efficacy of other influences, besides, in producing the predisposition in question, is by no means denied; and the latter may be disposed off, at once, by observing that though the effete combustible might be present, yet, in the absence of the epidemic spark, no explosion will occur. Full weight, too, may be allowed to the power, which, within certain limits, is undoubtedly possessed by the animal economy of adapting itself to the environment in which it is placed, and of rejecting noxious and deleterious substances when brought in contact with any of its absorbing surfaces. Nevertheless, that a most prominent place is due to insufficient nutrition and putrid exhalations in the list of causes favouring the spread of epidemic distempers, may be shewn, even independently of physiological reasoning, by the whole history of pestilential devastations. Thus the ravages of the Egyptian plague, forming one of the darkest chapters in the annals of human mortality,—will be found to be concurrent in that country (though unknown in times of old) with emana-

tions from inhumed organic remains through a loose and porous soil ; and, in Europe, with the pent-up effluvia of ill-ventilated habitations, and narrow and crowded streets. In India, as noticed already, the malady was ushered in by a famine at Guzerat, and thereafter broke out in districts of which poverty, filth, and over-crowding, were the most prominent features. And even in regard to that most intractable of pests—the cholera, and to all appearance the most capricious in its course ; when crossing the Western bounds of Asia, it began to shew its terrible face at Moscow, its increased fatality in ‘low, moist, thickly inhabited, and dirty places,’ did not escape the notice of Dr. Reimann, the director of medical police at Petersburg. And though many years have since elapsed, during which the disease has traversed the rest of Europe, and overspread the entire continent of America, the experience of a host of other observers on both sides of the Atlantic has tended only to corroborate more and more the truth of Dr. Reimann’s remark. But evidence of a different and even more convincing kind is also at hand. It will be remembered that in the years 1837, 1843, and 1849, a singular immunity was enjoyed in the midst of a dreadful pestilence by the troops severally at Delhi, Barrack-pore, and Fort William. But how came this to be the case ? How came the troops, on these occasions, in fact, to be fenced as within a magic circle which even such subtly-insinuating foes as fever and small-pox were not able to pass ? How, but by the strict enforcement of cleanliness and regular habits, by free ventilation and wholesome diet, and precautionary attention on the part of their medical officers ? Why then, by a more extended application of the selfsame measures, may not a like circle be drawn round a wider area, aye, even the whole country itself ?

In the foregoing observations, it has been my object to shew that, by excluding the operation of bad and unwholesome food, and of the various known sources of atmospheric contamination, it is in our power, in a considerable degree at least, to remove one of the concurrent causes of epidemic visitations. The subtle virus may impregnate the air, but falling upon good and healthy blood, it will be innocuous and lead to no terrific results. But the truth is that, in regard to fever, which, next only to cholera perhaps, is the greatest scourge of the country, we can do even more. For though the peculiar effluvia, to which our periodic fevers are due, has not as yet been detected and produced before us, corked up in a bottle, like some gas ; some of the most material agents concerned in its elaboration have been pretty correctly ascertained. These are no other than rank vegetation and swampy soil. And although

occasional examples of febrile epidemics, in their absence, might puzzle; their intimate connection with climatic fevers like those of India, is attested not only by numerous instances of circumstantial coincidence in time, place, and degree,—a striking illustration of which is furnished by the epidemic remittent of 1833,—the fever breaking out within a few days of the river overflowing its banks, its inroads confined at first, within the range of the inundation, but extending gradually upwards as the marshy exhalations spread with the prevailing wind of the season :—but the results, it may almost be said, of direct experimentation both of a negative and positive kind. An instance of either may be adduced. Talking of the village of Cardington, Mr. Bayne (in his life of Howard) observes : “Its situation was low and marshy; the inhabitants were unhealthy; ague, that haunts the fen and cowers under the mantle of the mist, especially abounded; altogether the little English village had the discontented, uneasy look of a sickly child.” But turn to this same village a few years after, when, having become the abode of the great philanthropist, ‘year by year, the number of damp, unwholesome cottages grew less,’ and ‘new and different cottages’ sprang up in their stead; and you shall see “strong-limbed, sunny-faced children frolicking round the doors,” and that “the mist and ague were driven back.” I have chosen this from among a multitude of cases, some of them even bearing more strongly on the question at issue, because it occurs only incidentally in the course of a narrative altogether literary in its character, and the author of which had no sort of theory in view to maintain; and also, because it shows not only how much may be done in the way of extirpating the seeds of disease, but how much may be done even by the exertions of a single warm-hearted, generous man. On the other hand, may be cited the well known instance of Kurnul, a station previously healthy, but which, in consequence of its drainage being interfered with by the excavation of canals on the western bank of the Jumna, and the damp produced thereby,—became such a regular hot-bed of fevers, that it was found necessary to abandon it as a military cantonment. Surely, proofs like these, must tell on the mind with a convincing effect; and armed with them, one may already begin to fancy, as if, prostrate at the feet of science, lies the foe, that in sheer wantonness, as it were, had been massacring indiscriminately the young, the lovely, and the old.

But there is a gulf between *the possible* and *the accomplished* which unfortunately, in this country, almost seems to be an impassable one. For when we ask ourselves the question—to what account has our knowledge of the preventible causes of disease

been turned in India, or what steps by virtue thereof have been taken to arrest the progress or mitigate the violence of epidemic devastations?—the answer returned as by a loud reverberation from every part of the country must be—almost none whatever. The matter even does not appear to have ever engaged the serious and continued attention either of the community or the State. In 1835, at the suggestion of Mr. Martin, a requisition was sent round by the Medical Board, for topographical reports of districts from medical officers in different parts of the country; but the results were such as to call forth expressions of regret even from the Governor-General himself. The appeal, in fact, met with a most sorry and feeble response; and a very few returns only were received. Among these, however, Mr. Martin's paper on Calcutta, Dr. Mackinnon's on Tirhoot, Dr. Macgregor's on Loodhiana, and Mr. Maclean's on Mairwarah, were deemed to be sufficiently interesting and valuable to be given to the public. But whether, with the solitary exception of the first, certainly a very instructive performance in its way,—any of the others has ever been 'wedded to immortal type,' is more than I am able to say. Neither am I aware of any fresh and more effectual step having since been taken, with a view to the systematic study of the endemic sources of disease in different parts of the country. Attention has only been roused at intervals, when hovering over, the angel of death was shaking his fatal dart, and striking all classes of people with consternation and panic. But to what has this hitherto led? To the appointment, perhaps, of a commission first, and thereafter the publication of a report. Reports on epidemics, written on the spur of the moment, however, pursuant to some official order, and in the absence of correct information, relative to several antecedent and concomitant phenomena, duly observed and recorded in time and place, are unavoidably wanting in some most essential points. However interesting in themselves in a general way, and valuable the practical precepts they may contain, they necessarily ignore, or only vaguely speak about, the meteorological relations of the particular epidemic under notice, the precise combination of circumstances under which it broke out at first, its course and rate of progress, and the like; and hence do not always form very important contributions to the philosophy of epidemic disease. By the time too, the pestilence has subsided, all interest on the subject faded away, and men went on—both rulers and ruled—as if nothing had been the matter a little before.

On the publication of Mr. Martin's report already adverted to, a Committee, at the recommendation of the Governors of the Native Hospital, was appointed to consider the best means of

effectuating the practical suggestions it contained. The Committee sat for 18 months ; and great hopes were entertained at the time as to the salutary results of their labours on the sanitary state of the town. But since the topographical features of Calcutta, as described by Mr. Martin, a quarter of a century ago, are no other than what they are at the present day, and the nuisances and sources of unhealthiness are still the same ; it is rather difficult to determine as to what practical steps have, up to this time, been taken in furtherance of the objects for which the Committee sat and deliberated so long. Indeed, if any change is perceptible at all, it is in a much worse state of the roads and drains though taxes for municipal purposes have since been heavily increased. This much for the metropolis then : and next as to the country at large, surely the history of its sanitary improvement is not likely to detain us long. A few Acts slumbering in the columns of the *Calcutta Gazette*, and without proper machineries to carry them into effect, may, in fact, be said to comprise it all, and make up its beginning, its middle, and its end.

The paucity of information bearing on questions of Tropical hygiene and disease, led the Section, now under representation, to commence its labours by collecting, in the first instance, a sufficiently numerous body of facts relative to—

(1st.) Laws of mortality or Vital Statistics of the different parts of the country.

(2nd.) The dietary of the different classes of the people, and the diseases to which they are respectively liable.

(3rd.) Sanitary state of houses and villages.—And with this view the following queries were circulated among the Sub-assistant Surgeons, and other intelligent native officers, who, from the education they have received, and the position they occupy in society, might be expected to interest themselves, and aid in inquiries of the kind,—in different parts of the country.

1. State the probable number of families residing in any of the villages in your division.

2. What is the average number residing in each house ; and what are the ordinary dimensions of a village house ?

3. What are the numbers and respective ages of the individuals belonging to each family, to such ones, at least, as you may have access for information in ?

4. State the instances of greatest longevity that you have known in your district.

5. State the respective ages of any number of persons dying to your knowledge within a given period.

6. Among what class of persons is the mortality greatest ? If amongst children, at what ages—before or after teething ?

7. What are the principal articles of food consumed severally by the different classes of the people ?

8. What is the ordinary rate of wages in the district in which you reside, and does it enable the labourer to procure a sufficiency of good and wholesome food ?

9. At what hours are the meals taken ? and what is the average weight of food consumed at each meal ?

10. To what processes of preparation (cooking) are they subjected ?

11. Are the people in the habit of eating any articles of food raw ?

12. What fruits do they consume ? Are they ripe or unripe ?

13. What are the prevailing diseases of the district ? and which of them occur as epidemic visitations ?

14. Are all classes subject to these diseases alike ; or how otherwise ?

15. State in particular any observed effect of habits and occupations in predisposing different classes to different diseases.

16. What narcotics do they smoke ? And what are the ordinary ingredients of a *chillum* ?

17. What is the usual mode of dressing prevalent among the different classes of the people ? and are they in the habit of anointing their bodies with oil ?

18. What variations are made in clothing as depending on the changes of seasons ?

19. As regards the want of proper clothing among the poorer classes ; is it to be attributed entirely to necessity, or how otherwise ?

20. Are females in the habit of wearing shoes ?

21. At what seasons are bowel complaints most rife ?

22. What may be the difference in the ratio of mortality from different diseases amongst those who do and those who do not adopt the English plan of treatment ?

23. What may be the state of villages within your division in respect of drainage ?

24. Are they subject to inundations ? and during the rains is there always a sufficiency of moisture to produce surface exhalations ?

25. Have they any swamps or jungles ?

26. What arrangements are made for the conservancy of the villages ?

27. What is in general the state of the tanks to be met with in them ?

28. Have these tanks generally numbers of trees planted round them ?

29. How are the houses situated relatively to the tanks ?

30. Are the houses at sufficient distances from one another, and furnished with windows, &c. to admit of proper ventilation ; or how otherwise ?

31. What means are taken to ventilate the houses of all classes of the population ?

32. Describe generally the mode of building houses.

In reply to the above, communications from eight have already been received ; and there is no reason to doubt that many more, though prevented, by the manifest difficulty of procuring much of the information required, from returning answers so early as could be wished, have the subject fully in mind, and will not fail to forward the necessary replies as early as practicable in course of the ensuing year. Even if any external incentive could be thought to be wanting in such a case, surely the hopes of honorable publicity which the Society is prepared to give to their labours, might be expected to furnish one.

The Returns received are from

- (1.) Dr. Bholanath Rose, Medical Officer, Furrceedpore.
- (2.) Baboo Mritoonjoy Bose, Sub-assistant Surgeon, Umritshur.
- (3.) Baboo Aunodachunder Kastogri, ditto, Akyab.
- (4.) Baboo Tarukchunder Lahoor, ditto, Moorshedabad.
- (5.) Mr. A. P. Minas, ditto, Sirsa.
- (6.) Baboo Denobundoo Dutt, ditto, Cuttack.
- (7.) Baboo Ramkenoo Dutt, ditto, Chittagong.
- (8.) Coomar Hurrendro Krishna, Deputy Magistrate, Cutwa.

Some of these are certainly excellent in their way, and are indicative of much industry and research ; and all contain facts and information well deserving to be put on record. I proceed, accordingly, to lay before the Society, a brief analysis of their contents.

The subjoined tabular statement, then, will shew the number of families residing in some of the villages in different parts of the country, together with the average number of individuals residing in each house, the proportion between children and adults in a family, and the mean age of each of the persons belonging to it.

Return No.	District.	Village.	No. of families in a village.	No. of persons in each house.	Proportion of adults to children.	Mean age.
1	Furreedpore,	Goolchanmut,	249	4.38	2.23 to 1	28.3
2	Umritshur,	Kutobinga,	600	5.	"	25.2
"	"	Old Arracan,	1,323	3.16	} 2.25 to 1	27
3	Akyab,	Caladyne,	516	3.		
"	"	Akyab,	4,241	3.377		
4	Moorshedabad,	Ruttenpore,	158	3.13	2.46 to 1	28.5
"	"	Ferwain,	441	1.75	"	} 15.35
"	"	Mungallah,	1,110	3.96	"	
5	Sirsa,	Nezadullah,	910	3.61	"	
"	"	Wuzeerpore,	150	2.31	"	
"	"	Sirsa,	"	4.49	"	} 14.14
6	Cuttack,	"	"	"	"	
7	Chittagong,	Anoorah,	426	3 "	"	14.14
8	Cutwa,	"	"	"	"	"

It deserves here to be stated that the statistics of the village of Ruttenpore as regards the number of inhabitants, and their respective ages, being given in full in Return No. 4, the results obtained from it are deserving of greater reliance being placed on them than those from any of the others. Dr. Bose's Return (No. 1) gives the ages of the members of 10 different families consisting in all of 42 individuals. The results obtained from the others, as resting on data of a more limited character, should be received with due reservation.

The following table exhibits the ratio which among 495 individuals composing the 158 families at Ruttenpore, those of different ages bear to one another.

Under 5	6 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61 to 70	71 to 80	above 80
45	62	118	103	49	38	52	15	13	0

Several instances of great longevity have been cited in the Returns. The number and respective ages will be found in the table below.

Return No.	80 to 90	90 to 100	Above 100	Total.
1	4	1	5	10
2	0	0	1	1
3	1	1	1	3
4	12	1	1	14
5	0	0	1	1
6	0	0	2	2

Most of these persons are said to be living still. The others are only recently dead. Coomar Hurrendro Krishna (Return No. 8) mentions, besides, though in an indefinite manner, some instances of men from 80 to 90 still living in his division. Cases of long life would thus appear to be by no means rare in this part of the world. To serve as a standard of comparison, when further information on this head will have come to hand, I may mention here that from 1838 to 1844, there died in England, at the age of 100 and upwards, 788 persons or about $112\frac{1}{2}$ per year. Of these 256 were males and 532 females.

The number of cases adduced in the Returns with regard to comparative mortality at different periods of life is too few to warrant any reliable inferences being deduced from them. Such as they are, however, they have been arranged in a tabulated form below, and may help to arrive at some sort of approximation, at least, as to the period of life in which death is most frequent and common.

Return No.	Under 10	10 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61 to 70	71 to 80	Total.
1	9	4	6	2	2	3	1	1	28
4	2	18	36	25	16	9	3	0	109
5	3	14	22	19	12	16	7	0	93
6	0	2	4	2	7	1	1	0	17
Total	14	38	68	48	37	29	12	1	247

No data have been furnished to determine, even approximately, the question of different degrees of mortality among different classes of people. With reference to children, however, Dr. Bose's Return contains the rather singular statement that the mortality among them, though great enough in itself, is much less than among adults; and that, previously to dentition, it is by no means so great among native, as among European, children. The Sub-assistant Surgeons of Sirsa and Cuttack would also seem to bear out the statement in some degree; for the former observes that 'children seldom die during dentition—death amongst them is generally after teething,'—and the latter that 'he is not aware of any great number of deaths amongst children.' Turning to the Reports of the English Registrar General, on the other hand, it will be found that a full third of the entire number of deaths is during the first two years of life, and nearly half before ten. Should Dr. Bose's statement be substantiated, therefore, by the results of a sufficiently extended observation, it would certainly form an important link in the great chain of vital statistics; and to what, in that case, is the excessive mortality amongst European children to be attributed? Is it to be accounted for by the effects of climate, or the more artificial way of bringing them up? The results of experience in other parts of the country, however, appear to tend the other way. Babu Taruk Chunder Lahoory, writing from Moorshedabad, observes that, in his opinion, the mortality is greatest among children both before and after teething; and a similar remark occurs likewise in the Return from Umritsur with regard to Cashmerian children. Amongst Burmese children, the greatest number of deaths (according to the Sub-assistant Surgeon of Akyab) occurs from the 7th to the 20th day.

As regards the dietary of the people, it varies somewhat according as they are Hindus or Mahomedans, rich or poor, and as the part of the country they inhabit. In Bengal and Orissa, rice, dall, fish, ghee, milk, and vegetables, form the principal articles of food; but the lower orders, unable mostly to afford milk or ghee, are obliged to content themselves almost solely with rice, seasoned, perhaps, with some coarse kind of dall or fish, or greens. In the Upper Provinces, ground-wheat, in a great measure, takes the place of rice, and fish does not appear to be in very general use. The poorer classes, however, who cannot afford wheat, are obliged to feed on grains of a very inferior kind. In Sirsa and the districts around, *Bajrah* (*Holcus Spicata*), and *Mote* (*Phaseolus Mar* or *Radiatus*) are said to form their principal pabulum of support. The Cashmerians, according to the Sub-assistant Surgeon of Umritsur, are in

the habit of living more on rice and vegetables than wheat and dall. The Mahomedans everywhere are in the habit of using some meat in addition to the articles enumerated above.

A very remarkable bill of fare, however, has been returned by the Sub-assistant Surgeon of Akyab as being in vogue among the Mugs. Elephants, horses, buffaloes, cows, stags, alligators, crocodiles, hogs, hares, monkeys, tortoises, snakes of all sorts, mice, frogs, birds of every kind, fishes without exception, lizards, crickets, maggots, &c. &c., all these and more enter into it and contribute to diversify the items. It is not without reason, therefore, that a Mug says of himself, that wherever and in whatever circumstances he may be placed, he is never in danger of being starved.

The hours of meals appear to vary very considerably according to habit and occupation. Among the labouring classes the principal meal is generally taken at midday, and another a little after sunset. Some also take a third meal in the morning, consisting of *Panta Bhat*, or rice boiled on the preceding day and kept in a wetted state. The upper classes take the first meal commonly between 9 and 10 A. M., and another about the same hour at night, with some sweetmeats by way of tiffin during the middle of the day. In some of the Upper Provinces, while the Mahomedans allow themselves two meals a day, the Hindus are very often satisfied with one, consisting of *chuppatties* and *dall*. The quantity of solid food consumed at each meal varies from 8 to 12 chuttacks or from a pound to a pound and half in weight.

The processes to which the food of the natives is subjected by way of cooking, are, for the most part, of a very simple character. Rice and dall are boiled—the latter with the addition of a little ghee or oil, and salt; and flour, rolled over into slices of various thickness, is baked and then rubbed over with ghee. Fishes and vegetables are sometimes fried, and sometimes dressed into curries,—among the poor with the addition of some oil, turmeric, and chilly, and among the rich, of aromatics and ghee. Acidulous substances too are occasionally mixed up with them. There are also some of what may be called ‘made dishes,’ such as *polow* and others; but they are far from being in general or ordinary use, unless it be among some of the richer Mahomedans. They are prepared and served up mostly on occasions of festivity and entertainment.

The articles of food consumed raw are mostly the fruits. The chief ones in Bengal are mangoes, plums, guavas, coconuts, palm, bael, apples of various kinds, dates, blackberries, rose-berries, pomegranates, liches, oranges, musk and water-melons, jacks, plantains, cucumbers, &c. &c. The first five are

eaten both ripe and unripe, the others generally in a ripe state. Jacks, plantains, and melons, may also be taken unripe, but then commonly dressed in the form of a curry. The albumen of the cocoa and palm is relished much, and made into various kinds of cakes with sugar. Some of the greens are also eaten raw, chiefly by the lower classes,—such as turnips, radishes, sweet potatoes, &c. In Sirsa, the cultivating classes are said to eat *Bajrah* raw, and the Bowreas or gipsies and the Bhutties, meat and fish only in a semi-roasted state. The fruits indigenous, and in most common use, in that part of the country, besides wild plums, oranges, and melons, are *kukree* (green cucumbers,) pingoo (wild capers,) and pilloo (wild currants,) though in the gardens of the rich, a number of other fruits, such as mangoes, guavas, peaches, apples, grapes, pomegranates, &c., are likewise cultivated at present. In Umritshur, a very few fruits, except plums, cucumbers, and oranges, are said to be found. The large variety of wild fruits, both ripe and unripe, alleged to be consumed by the Mugs, would seem to form a suitable dessert after the very diversified course of dinner to which they have been treated already.

The wages of ordinary labour do not appear to be uniform all over the country. The rates in the districts from which communications have been received, are given below.

Furreedpore,	4 to 5 Rs. per month.
Umritshur,	2 as. per day.
Akyab,	7 to 10 Rs. per month.
Moorshedabad,	2 as. per day.
Sirsa,	3 Rs. per month.
Cuttack,	2-8 to 2-12 ditto.
Chittagong,	5 Rs. ditto.
Cutwa,	4 Rs. ditto.

Relatively to the current food of the country, these rates, in the Returns from Furreedpore, Sirsa, Akyab, and Cuttack, are said to be sufficient for the labourer's want; but not so in the other returns. In that from Chittagong, however, Dr. Beatson, the Civil Surgeon of the place, has recorded his dissent from the Sub-assistant Surgeon in a marginal note in the Return, and believes the rates to be enough. It is impossible to decide the question in a general way, until further and more precise information on the subject has come to hand.

Here for a moment let us pause, and see if the bill of fare from which the inhabitants of this country, the Hindus among them, at least, have to choose, be sufficiently generous in itself for the requirements of the human system. Rice and wheat are the great staples—the former in Bengal and Orissa, and the

latter in the Upper Provinces. As between these, the teachings of chemical analysis aside, the superior muscular make and physical strength of the Up-countryman living on wheat, as compared with the Bengali or the Oorya depending mainly on rice, will bespeak at once the higher nutrient powers of the first. But whether even this by itself can be said to be enough, or rather the best suited to the nature of man? My own impression is that it cannot. For even if it could be supposed for a moment that the *stamen vite* derived from wheat would impart the same degree of innate vigour to the frame, as that derived from animal food; there can be no question as to an article obtained from the vegetable kingdom being, in consequence of its carbonaceous nature, more difficult of assimilation than meat, and hence requiring a greater amount of nervous energy to be spent upon the digestive process. This, of course, would leave less of it at the disposal of other organs and parts. And does not this furnish a clue to the explanation of many of the defects in the national character of the Hindus?—the general prevalence among them of a phlegmatic temperament, and their natural disrelish for all sorts of active exertions and pursuits? Nor let it be supposed a humiliation for the mind to be deemed in any way as dependent on the quality of food and drink. Without proper alimentation, and the consequent flow of a sufficient amount of nervous energy, no organ can sustain itself in a state of high functional activity for any length of time; and to this rule, no exception appears to have been made in favour of the brain. Indeed, it is the deficiency of this energy alone, which renders rest and inactivity, both physical and mental, which would almost be agonising to an European, a luxury to a native.

The narcotics commonly used for purposes of smoking, are tobacco, churus, gunja, and opium. Of these, tobacco is almost in universal use, the others being resorted to by certain classes only,—generally men of low and degraded habits. When used in the form of a *chillum*, it is mixed up with molasses, sometimes a little lime or *sajee matee*, and, among the rich, some other ingredients of a flavouring kind. The Ooryas and Mugs smoke it in the form of segars;—the latter generally mixing it up with a certain other kind of leaf, called by the natives the *baul patta*, and appearing from a specimen, forwarded by Babu Aunoda Chunder Kastogri, to belong to the *Combretum Costatum*—a gigantic climber common to the East. It is said to impart an aromatic odour to the smoke. The Seiks are not in the habit of smoking; they use *bhang* instead. It is worthy of mention in this place, that in Bengal the habit of smoking does not prevail among women of the higher ranks;

but matters appear to be otherwise in Orissa and the Upper Provinces.

The ordinary every-day dress of the natives, during summer, consists, for the most part, of a single sheet of cloth from 8 to 10 cubits in length and 2 to 2½ in breadth, fastened round the waist by a knot, and a portion suspended in folds or plaits from the forepart of the abdomen a little above the navel. In females, this part is taken round, and serves to envelope the upper part of the person. Loose trousers are also in use among the Mahomedans, and some of the up-country people; but, generally speaking, the upper part of the body in the male sex is left exposed. Among the lower classes, a mere piece of rag, carried round the waist, is often all the clothing worn during the hot and rainy seasons. In the Upper Provinces, however, among the Punjabese and Cashmerians, in particular, the females adopt a much better style of dressing than their sisters of Bengal. Instead of a single sheet for a wrapper, they use, for purposes of apparel, various prepared garments made to suit the different parts of the body. They are also in the habit of wearing shoes, the use of which tyrant custom has interdicted among the women of Bengal; so that those of the first ranks among them are obliged to go barefooted even in damp and cold. During the cold season, shawls, broadcloth, flannel, &c. are worn by the well-to-do, while the poorer classes have recourse to blankets, thick linen, or cotton quilts. The very poor, however, have seldom more than some tattered pieces of rag stitched together for winter clothing. But even the rich, however well clad in the upper parts of the body, are commonly in the habit of leaving the legs bare and exposed. Stockings and trousers though coming into use, as yet, in this part of the country at least, form parts only of the official dress, and are seldom worn at home. Among the Mahomedan gentry, however, they appear to be in more common and habitual use. The Mugs, besides dressing quite as sparingly as people here, are in the habit of going without shoes. It is, in fact, considered a mark of disgrace among them to put them on.

The want of proper clothing among the poor has, in the majority of Returns, been ascribed to necessity alone; but in some, habit is also referred to as not without its due share of effect. That the latter opinion is not altogether unfounded, appears from the fact that those in the employ of European gentlemen, are generally found to be well and decently dressed, whilst their fellows, earning as much or even more by some different calling, satisfy themselves simply with their primitive style of dress.

The practice of anointing the body with oil, so commonly prevalent in Bengal, does not appear to be in general vogue in the provinces higher up. The Ooryas, however, delight in pounded turmeric and mustard oil mixed up together.

In none of the districts under notice,—(with the single exception of the subdivision of Cutwa, in some of the villages of which Act No. XX. of 1856 is said to have been enforced, and *pukka* drains constructed in the town); does anything like a proper system of drainage appear to exist, or any conservancy arrangements to be in force. Whatever in the shape of conservancy there is, is entirely in the hands of the villagers themselves, and consists simply in finding some sort of passage for the rains. It appears, too, from the Returns from Furrcehpore, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Cuttack, that those parts of the country are liable to periodic inundations during the rains; and that when the waters subside, an abundance of moisture is left behind to produce surface exhalations. The districts abound, besides, with jungles and swamps. Cutwa, though seldom subject to inundations and free from jungles, is not without marshes and swamps. In the districts of Sirsa and Umritshur, the villages are said to be commonly erected on elevated grounds, and as a rule, to be exempt from inundations. Umritshur, moreover, is alleged to contain no swamps and but little in the shape of jungles. But not so Sirsa; which, besides being studded with marshes and jheels, has a jungle of several miles in extent along the banks of the Ghugger and Budda streams. Here in some of the lowlands, too, notwithstanding the sandy nature of the soil, sufficient moisture is left after the rains to produce exhalations from the surface. The territory round Akyab is reported to be thickly covered with jungles and marshes, and subject to frequent inundations besides.

As to the state of village tanks, they are, generally speaking, but little taken care of, and are liable to a hundred sources of pollution, such as from ablutions, cleansing of utensils, droppings of various kinds, the growth of weeds and aqueous plants, and the like. Nevertheless, many of the larger ones among them (as stated in the returns from Cutwa and Moorshedabad) are found to contain good and transparent water. That in the smaller ones, however, is mostly turbid and unwholesome. Several of these, too, dry up during the hot months of the year, and give rise to marshy exhalations. This is particularly the case in the district of Sirsa, and where, in consequence, the tanks have all to be annually cleansed and repaired. In Umritshur, a few tanks are alleged to exist in the town alone; in the villages, wells are the only source for

the supply of water. The Mugs, though otherwise an exceedingly dirty people, are said to be very particular about the water they drink, and carefully to guard their tanks from the usual sources of pollution alluded to. Weeds, however, are suffered to grow and vegetable matter to decompose in them.

Except in Umritshur, where vegetation is scanty, the tanks in the other districts are alleged to be most commonly surrounded with trees.

The houses in a village are very variously situated in regard to the tanks,—some being in their immediate neighbourhood, and others at a considerable distance from them. The more substantial villagers, however, in Bengal at least, have always one or more tanks adjoining their residence.

In the Returns from Moorshedabad and Furreedpore, village houses are said to be situated at sufficient distances from one another to admit of free ventilation, if proper measures were adopted for the purpose. But the fact is that it is little cared for; and a single aperture, serving for passage in and out, is often all the opening left for the admission of light and air. In the rest of the Returns the houses are alleged, besides, to be more closely huddled together than is consistent with the free circulation of air.

The average dimensions of a village house in the districts under notice are—

Districts.	Dimensions in feet.		
	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
Furreedpore, ...	20	8	0
Umritshur, ...	12	5	7
Moorshedabad, ...	24	12	13
Sirsa, ...	8	8	8
Cuttack, ...	21	9	0
Chittagong, ...	24	15	9

The diseases prevailing severally in the districts, from which Returns have been received, are as follow :—

Furreedpore.—Ague, diarrhœa, dysentery, spleen, rheumatism, and catarrhal affections.

Umritshur.—Fever—chiefly intermittent, cutaneous affections, dyspepsia, consumption, rheumatism, dropsy, and urinary calculi.

Akyab.—Fever, rheumatism, disorders of the bowels, colic, and venereal affections.

Moorshedabad.—Fever, measles, diarrhœa, dysentery, rheumatism, affections of the liver and spleen, asthma, bronchitis, ophthalmia, leprosy and other cutaneous affections, and venereal complaints.

Sirsa.—Fever, bowel-complaints, affections of the chest, scurvy, dracunculus—leading to anchyloses and contractions of the joints, cutaneous diseases, ophthalmia, nyctalopia, and impotence.

Cuttack.—Fever, colic, dyspepsia, dropsy, elephantiasis, leprosy, syphilis, and insanity.

Chittagong.—Intermittent fever and spleen, secondary pneumonia and cerebral affections—after fever.

Cutwa.—Fever, dysentery, diarrhœa, and gonorrhœa.

Cholera and small-pox are common to all the places, and occur very often in the epidemic form. Fever also is numbered among the epidemics of Furreedpore, Moorshedabad, and Cutwa. In Sirsa severe visitations of any kind are said to be uncommon and rare.

Bowel-complaints are stated to be most rife in Akyab from March to June, when edible fruits are most abundant, and which are voraciously devoured by the natives whether ripe or green; in Sirsa and Umritsur, towards the end of summer; in Cutwa, Furreedpore, and Chittagong, during midsummer and the rains; but in Moorshedabad, during autumn and winter.

Several instances have been adduced of the effects of habit and profession in producing a greater liability to disease in some classes than in others. A striking one, in particular, occurs in the Return from Umritshur. Of the two classes—the Punjabese and the Cashmerians,—there, the latter besides faring worse as to diet, are compelled by the nature of their occupation as shawl-weavers, to remain confined from morning to evening, with only an hour's interval during the middle of the day, in small and crowded rooms; and the result shows itself (as stated by Babu Mritoonjoy Bose) in their being, far more frequently than the others, the victims of pulmonary consumption. The effects of insufficient nutrition and dirty habits, also manifest themselves in their children by a kind of gangrenous ulcer often breaking out in the face towards the close of the rains,—but which is seldom to be met with in the children of other classes. The beneficial effects of open air, on the other hand, are illustrated by the marked exemption, which, in the Return from

Furreedpore, the agricultural classes are alleged to shew from the prevailing diseases of the district, as compared with people of sedentary and in-door occupations. Of the diseases commonly met with at Sirsa, dracunculus is stated to be peculiar to the cultivating classes alone, and is ascribed by Mr. Minas to their drinking the stagnant water of the tanks. Cutaneous affections are most common among the tanners, and are owing to their not cleaning themselves properly after work when water in the tanks is scarce; and nyctalopia occurs most frequently among the Bangri jauts, but disappears always on some generous diet being allowed. Among the Ooryas, leprosy and elephantiasis have been associated by Babu Denobundoo Dutt, with their habits of eating *panta bhat* and drinking dirty water from the wells, for the higher classes who can afford to be more particular as to food and drink, are seldom seen to be affected with them; and insanity, in most cases, he says, "is brought on by hard smoking of gunja." The pernicious effects of this latter habit have been pointed out also by Babu Taruk Chunder Lahorry, of Moorshedabad, by illustrative cases of asthma and mania which he has clearly traced to it. In Chittagong, Dr. Beatson, in another marginal note in the Sub-assistant Surgeon's replies, notices the appearance of the endemic diseases of the district (ague and spleen) most commonly among those who, by the situation of their dwellings, are the most exposed to marshy exhalations; and the results of insufficient food and clothing are indicated generally by the fact, referred to in several of the Returns, of the poor being more obnoxious to the prevailing distempers of the place than those more comfortably off.

A remarkable illustration of the power of habit operating in a different way—occurs in the Akyab Return. According to Babu Anoda Chunder, the Sub-assistant Surgeon of the place, the Mugs, though living in the midst of marshes, and notoriously dirty in their habits, are found to enjoy a remarkably good health upon the whole; and severely and fatally as the fever of Arracan tells on foreigners, it assumes generally a mild form when the natives are the subjects of attack. Facts of the kind are certainly most interesting in their way; and though commonly slurred over with a vague reference to the effects of acclimatization and habit, may possibly, if subjected to a minuter kind of investigation than hitherto they seem to have been, result in some discovery of practical importance.

Here I close my analysis of the Returns. It would certainly be quite premature to attempt any generalization, at present, with only such scanty materials at hand. Returns from other parts of the country must be waited for, and information on

points not embraced by the queries circulated already procured, before we can arrive at a right understanding of the various abnormal influences at work in different parts of the country. In regard to epidemics, in particular, regular meteorological registers, kept at diverse places and stations, and by the help of which, the observations of healthy and unhealthy years, and contemporaneous observations in different parts of the country, may be variously compared with one another;—are indispensable for the purpose of elucidating their laws. Nevertheless, with the limited data even now in hand, it is not difficult to catch some glimpses, at least, of the connection between many of the prevailing diseases of the country and their source in the habits of the people, or the environment in which they suffer themselves to live. Several instances of this have been already adverted to, as pointed out by the gentlemen from whom communications have been received; and to whom—by the way—the best thanks of the Society are due for the hearty manner in which they have responded to its call. Others, besides, will readily suggest themselves. Catarrhal affections, which occur mostly at the setting in of cold, may, without doubt, be traced, in the great majority of cases, to exposure and want of proper clothing; and bowel-complaints, to the habit of eating green and indigestible fruits, or the absence of requisite protection against sudden vicissitudes of temperature during the rains. Fever and spleen may be linked at once with ill-ventilated houses and swamps and putrid tanks; and a vast amount of miscellaneous evils, in the shape of venereal, rheumatic, and cutaneous affections,—may be ascribed even to the degraded morals of the people, conducing in so very large a scale, whether directly or through the laws of hereditary transmission, to undermine the system by infection with the venereal taint. What a field then is opened here for the alleviation of human suffering and woe! What a field for the exercise of humanity, for every enlightened and generous man! And yet in idle complacency we sit with folded hands, while millions of fellow beings, whom it were possible to rescue by proper attention to the laws of private and public hygiene, are crouching under the weight of disease, or being dragged into their graves by the ghastly spectre of death. Money, alas! is the great bugbear in the way—of both the community and the state. But when will the truth be imprinted on the public mind, that true economy lies in preserving the health and lives of the people—the real source of all national wealth? In a case like the present, too, enlightened and rational self-interest must point the same way in which humanity tends. For in spite of all that one can do for himself,—by neglecting

even some distant village, there will be left a nidus for the generation of some subtle virus which—wafted on the wings of air,—may cross his stately lawns and break through his iron bars, and,—penetrating his lofty saloons,—there lay him or those dearer to him than himself, prostrate with its fatal sting. Thus, indeed, it was that the poison of cholera was wafted from these shores to every part of the world. In right earnest, then, let the state and community, both, take up—what hitherto they have almost entirely neglected, much to their own cost, too,—the sanitary improvement of the country. Yes, surrounded by the ghastly brood of death, the country herself calls on her intellectual conscripts to unite into a mighty corps, and put into requisition the great armoury of science, to repel the terrible foe. At her bidding let one and all arise, and with brain and purse wage eternal war against enemies that are constantly decimating society, by carrying off alike the young and the old : so that death, at last, may have his own “in course of nature” alone,—life yielding to him by slow degrees—according to the immutable decrees of fate.



REPORT
OF THE
SOCIOLOGICAL SECTION,
BY THE

REV. J. LONG.

Thursday, April 26th, 1861.

The *science of Sociology* to promote whose objects we are met this evening, is one of modern origin, in fact so modern that there are many educated persons who know not what the word means. It is not then economical, ethical, legal or political science, though it borders on all these—it is not on the one hand the Socialism of Fourier and Robert Owen, which regards material comfort attained through man's industry as the highest end or *paramartha*, thus ignoring a future life and sinking humanity into the mire of materialism;—nor is it on the other hand *Political Economy*, which relates principally to the production and distribution of wealth;—nor is it *Statistics*;—nor is it merely *Ethics*, which refers to man's welfare as a moral being. *Sociology* is distinct from Politics or the science of government, though its enquiries form the basis of all good government, as the Commissions on various subjects of social enquiry in England and Lord Shaftesbury's labours show.

Sociology pre-eminently aims at what Pope recommends: "The proper study of mankind is man;"—by it we gain the real or esoteric history of a people, of the *masses*, and not of what history chiefly dwells on, Priests, Kings and Warriors, their controversies, battles and intrigues—as is specially the case with the modern history of India. Sir J. Macintosh referring to the value of works which illustrate national character observes,—“Manner is the constant and insensible transpiration of character; in the thousand nameless acts which compose manner, the mind betrays its habitual bent.”

The English in England, so pre-eminent for their efforts to relieve the poor and helpless in foreign lands, have had their attention gradually directed to various social evils in their own land, and one way to remedy them was found, to make investiga-

tion into their nature and extent,—hence the origin of the *Social Science Association*, which enrolls more than 2000 members, some of whom are *Ladies*, who have written papers and organized *Ladies' Associations* to co-operate with its objects. Lord Brougham, Lord J. Russel, and the Earl of Shaftesbury have given opening addresses at the yearly meetings. France has entered with zest into the subject, and even in Russia the working of the Association has been watched with great interest, while full accounts of the proceedings of the sections have been given most fully even in the St. Petersburg journals.

The field in this country is very wide, and while it is rather difficult, on account of sociology bordering so closely on other branches of moral science, to give a precise definition of the word, it will be best explained perhaps by pointing out the scope of its objects in this country. Sociology teaches one lesson which is much needed every where, and is not without its use even in England—that a people's prosperity mainly depends *on themselves*: the Government may *aid*, but the impulsive movement for its success must arise from the people. Well has a great statesman, Monsieur Guizot, characterized as a "gross delusion the belief in the sovereign power of political machinery;" to this many of the social evils of France are attributable. The French thought they could first reform society without reforming themselves, thus illustrating Sir J. Macintosh's remark "Constitutions cannot be made, they must grow." Paper constitutions won't do: there must be a root in the social condition of the people. Lord Shaftesbury in his addresses at the Social Science Meeting observes that this as one of the good effects of social science, "It is no small success to have taught the people to see that to cry out, A law a law, on all occasions of an evil felt, or an evil detected, is to check private individual and combined exertion; and to keep men from the wholesome conviction, that in many matters they must be a law unto themselves. Anything that will detach men from the pursuit of 'splendid phantoms' must be of great value."

The study of Sociology then is of special importance to educated natives, as tending to draw their attention to what lies at the basis of all good government—the social condition of the people: Utopia may be fine as a theory, but what is it in practice? The study of Sociology will also tend to remedy a great defect in this country—the *awful chasm which exists between the educated and uneducated native*: it will do in this department what natural history does in another, bring different classes together on common ground, and so lessen prejudice. We have heard many Europeans declare that the sports of the field

were the first things that impressed them favourably towards natives, as thereby they came in contact with the common people and learned to know their good qualities and social condition. Depend on this, if the educated class will ignore the masses, the masses will not ignore them, but will be a drag and a chain on them. The educated native must not imitate the philosopher who being disturbed in his study, by the servant informing him that part of his house was on fire replied, "Tell your mistress: you know I don't attend to household concerns."

One of the reasons why so little in the way of writing has hitherto been contributed to sociology by educated natives and others, may have been the system of education that has prevailed and is prevailing, which cultivates memory to the exclusion of almost every other faculty and particularly the necessary one of observation, while in schools the study of natural history in the upper classes and of object lessons in the lower is too generally ignored, hence the young man comes from College looking too often on the objects around him "with a brute unconscious gaze." Without the practice of close observation little progress can be made in sociology, which is to be prosecuted not from books but from personal observation of men and things.—As no man will gain much knowledge of plants in a jungle without a Botanical eye, so neither will much progress be made in the knowledge of the various ramifications of society, unless the attention be directed to them by preparatory studies: this neither Mathematics nor History, excellent though they be in themselves, can effect. The learned education of former days has led the Hindu mind to study the quiddities of Metaphysics, rather than external objects, which were held in contempt, they applied to scholastic Metaphysics and not to Mental Philosophy on the Baconian method of induction.

The time is very favorable for sociological investigations as an *Educated Class* of natives is rapidly rising, qualified not only to investigate, but also to write the results of their investigations.

Railways opening out will enable persons hitherto pent up within the Marhatta Ditch, to travel in the Mofussil. The East India Railway gives them the opportunity to proceed cheaply and quickly to the districts of Birbhum, Murshebadabad, Burdwan, Hugly, Purnea, Malda, Rungpur, hitherto almost *terra incognita*—the Mutla Railway will soon afford them facilities for visiting neighbourhoods once the seat of a flourishing civilisation; the Eastern Bengal Railway will bring Rajshahi, Pubna, Nuddea close to view. All those districts contain abundance of matter for enquiry relating to the rural population and the social relics of former dynasties—particularly the Musalman.—Danvers in his

Railway Report has well remarked on this subject, that, as one result of the Rail in India, "the facilities for personal intercourse, and the spread of intelligence afforded thereby will not fail to improve the social condition of the country."

As *debating societies* among Hindus and Englishmen are rapidly springing up, it would be well to have their aims of a more *practical* nature, directed to points whose consideration would have a useful effect on the mind, I must confess I have been often pained in attending some of those meetings, and I have gone to many, to hear read, an essay merely an abridgement of a book, or perhaps some semi-political paper, only calculated to excite a discontented spirit. What a field for discussion and essays would sociology open, and one hitherto so little gleaned.

Natives can do this. Europeans cannot penetrate into the *Antapur*, or unravel the intricate web of native society; in various cases where they have attempted to write about it, it was in the spirit of the Marquis de Custine, who, after a few months' residence in Russia, wrote several works about every thing in it,—boasting "that he saw nothing but guessed every thing." European travellers in India have consequently from the *audij* (guess) nature of their data, made most glaring mistakes. Even Ward in that useful and laboured work on "The Manners of the Hindus," though he bestowed 20 years on the researches and took native guidance, often confounds *examples* with *exceptions*. It is no cause for surprise then, if Europeans travelling through the country with the speed of a Cossack, seeing only a few cities and anglicised natives, should make great blunders. What La Place said of astronomy is applicable to social science, "We have principles and science in abundance, give us more *facts*." An American writer, to shew the difficulty of foreigners understanding natives easily, mentions he was 25 years in Scotland and fancied he understood the Scotch, then he came to England and supposed he should soon understand the English—but after 25 years in England also, he began to think he understood neither the Scotch nor the English!

In submitting this annual Report of the Sociological Section of the Bethune Society, I have to state that being quite a new subject in this country, much time was spent in *mapping out the field of action*, for though various men were found willing to work, they wanted to have the sphere pointed out, hence at one of the early meetings of the Section held in December 1859, the following was stated.

"To the student in sociology, India offers a vast and inexhaustible field of investigation and research, and the natives themselves are in the most favourable position to furnish correct information on the social system of the Hindus, as foreigners

have little opportunity of acquainting themselves with the internal workings of native society. At an early meeting of this section it was considered desirable that each of the members should propose a subject or subjects for investigation, and that a selection be made from them for the contribution of papers by the members. It was further recommended to the members to prosecute the study of sociology as lately raised to a science, and also of French and German writings on India, in order to enable them to bring the light thus obtained to bear upon the topics selected for the papers."

The subjects proposed in the Section this year have been as follows.

1. *Menu's Scheme of Hindu Society*, how far its principles harmonize with the laws of nature, and are compatible with the progress and the well-being of the community.
2. *The existing organization of Hindu Society in Bengal* with reference to the 36 hereditary castes or *Barnas*, of which it is composed.
3. The modifying influence of *Mahomedan and English conquests* on Hindu Society.
4. How far natural causes have operated to overturn the *Scheme of Menu*?
5. The influence of *Buddhism* on the condition of Hindu Society?
6. *The social influences* of the existing Educational Institutions of Bengal.
7. What ultimate influence are *Railways* likely to exercise on Hindu Society?
8. The state of Hindu Society in *Orissa*, compared with that in Bengal.
9. A critical analysis of Mr. Ward's work on the Hindus, as respects their social condition, together with a sketch of the improvements that have taken place in the social condition of the natives within the last 50 years.
10. A History of Old *Hindu families* in Calcutta.
11. Under what circumstances is the adoption by the natives of *foreign manners and dress* desirable, and to what extent has it been carried?
12. The nature and extent of accommodation in *native houses* and to what degree susceptible of improvement?
13. The topics of *conversation* in general in Hindu Society of the present day, as contrasted with that of former times.

Essays have been sent in to this Section on the following subjects :—

1. *Topics of Conversation in Hindu Society*.

This paper, the production of an acute observer, treats of the various subjects of conversation among the different classes of natives,—and is to be specially commended, because the writer is not a copyer of books but has drawn fresh from observation.

2. *Social influences of the Educational Institutions of Bengal*.

Written by our worthy Secretary, and chiefly from his own observation, he points out education in its effects on an expiring state of society—education begun at 5 years of age,—schools introduce better clothes, cleanliness, a demand for various manufactured things, promote order,—are against caste, bring the

various classes of society together,—the pupils become in after life socially elevated—the Medical College,—schools for agriculture,—moral training,—Bengalis not a mere race of talkers—paid lecturers needed,—debating societies short-lived, notices of those existing 23 years ago, and of the Phrenological Society and Society for the Acquisition of Useful Knowledge.

3. *The Marriage System of the Bengalis.*

The author treats of—the origin of the sexes and of marriage according to the Shastras—the marrying a brother's widow—plurality of husbands—eight ancient forms of marriage—kulin marriages.—Marriage ceremonies,—marriages among different castes.

The essay evinces a considerable amount of research in books.

4. *An account of the Sunderbunds.*

Relates more to the land tenure than to the people.

5. *Criticisms on Ward on the Hindus.*

Treats of mistakes made by Mr. Ward on the social condition of the natives. This shews considerable investigation, it came in too late to be noticed in our appendix, but it will receive due attention next year.

I now submit a *series of questions and subjects for essays* on the various branches of sociology. One of the main reasons that led me to frame these questions and subjects on sociology was not merely the novelty of the subject, but the utter uselessness of asking natives or even Europeans a question in the form, "Tell me all you know about it:"—the result is you either get information you may possess already, or information on points you do not require;—you must *aim point blank*, if you wish for a result; you must make grooves or channels for thought. It was the conviction of this necessity that led the Calcutta School Book Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and other bodies to begin their operations, by framing a series of questions and desiderata.

These questions I constructed from notes I had taken in reading or from observations made in the Mofussil at various periods or from points suggested by natives. I have spared no pains in searching for suggestive enquiries in the Bengali, Sanskrit, French, and German languages.

With respect to obtaining answers to many of these questions, your President Dr. Duff and myself have had some unfortunate experience sixteen years ago on another topic, when we issued a series of questions on education, and received very few answers; but I believe times are improved, in the *Medical Section* of this Society, a considerable number of replies have been obtained, and I have been told by many natives, they will answer the questions when they ask for *definite* and *precise* information.

Messrs. Smith and Woodrow have assured me that in their department of education, they will co-operate by giving some of these questions to intelligent masters, and by making them exercises for *Essays in Schools*. Our President and others have promised similar co-operation. They may form subjects also for Essays in Debating Societies,—and I trust that a volume may be compiled from the answers to those questions, and from the Essays which may be of value to Europeans both in India and Europe as giving information drawn from *original* sources.

I.

ABORIGINES.

The *Dhangars* and other hill tribes who do such important though dirty work in the drainage of Calcutta are deserving notice, as to their habitations, religion, customs, language. Sir J. Malcolm's Essay on the Bhills—Hodgson's valuable papers on the Aboriginal tribes, &c., will suggest various kindred enquiries regarding them. This subject must not be despised as a mean one; such men as Dr. Prichard, Hodgson &c. &c. devoted much labour to it, and Sir G. Grey, when Governor of New Zealand, learned the language of the Aborigines and has since published a most interesting work on "the Poetry of the New Zealanders;" he lived among them for a time, and has recorded all their legends, traditions, &c. Who would have thought that the Maoris living in the *ultima Thule* of Civilization speak a language in which there are many words derived from Sanskrit—as little as that the Santals, British subjects, whom you see occasionally in Calcutta, and who can be easily visited now by rail, speak a language, having strong affinities with the language of the Tartars of Central Asia, Russian subjects. The Hindu books in poetical legends describe those aborigines as monkeys, so Megasthenes writes of Indians one-eyed, without noses, wrapped up in their ears, (*hastikarnas*), even Marco Polo and Ptolemy believed that men with tails had a real existence. I understand that among the *Dhangars* of Calcutta, much mortality prevails, owing to the wretched diet they use—they live in leaf houses on the banks of the Eastern Canal.

1. The mode of living and food of the *Dhangars*, and other aborigines in Calcutta, and in their native place?

2. Ditto of the hill men who go as *coolies* to the *Mauritius* and West Indies. Their social position and relation to *Zemindars* on their return, how far do they acquire habits of thought and independence, a knowledge of improved means of cultivation, a taste for a higher order of amusements, and a greater pride of personal appearance?

3. Are the *Dhangars* subject to much disease in Calcutta, from entering *drains* &c.?

4. Do the Dhangars' wives and families accompany them to Calcutta? What connexion do they keep up with their native villages?

5. The ceremonies observed by the Sonthals, Dangars, &c. at births, marriages, funerals? What mode have they of settling their disputes? how far do they believe in witchcraft, omens?

II.

AGRICULTURE.

How desirable it would be in this country to see the zemindar, like the English country gentleman, attending agricultural shows—joining with his tenants in the sports of the field, administering justice on the bench, sympathising with his rayats in their difficulties—having, from an agricultural education, that scientific knowledge of rural husbandry which would interest him in the country, and thus enable him to be independent of the false information of the gomasta.

1. How far is the charge true that the *Bengal ryot* is *lazy*—if so, is it owing to his not having a proper incentive to industry, or to his natural disposition?

2. In what cases have many *ryots* risen to be *peasant proprietors*? what effect would such a class have on cultivation as compared with large capitalists? Would the results be similar to those in France where peasant proprietorship fosters economy, a respect for property, forethought and industry?

3. How far are *zemindars*, *absentees*?—the causes? remedies?

4. To what extent is a taste for *gardening* spreading among zemindars, and educated natives—how could it be more extensively promoted as a morning amusement for natives in offices? instances of any natives who have devoted much time and money to gardening?

5. To what extent could *public gardens** be established in native towns?

6. How far would the introduction of the study of *agricultural chemistry* and of the *elements of Botany* in a popular form in Anglo-Vernacular schools tend to lessen that gulph which now exists between the educated classes and the rural population?

7. The practicability of *evening classes* for teaching the *ryots* to read.†

8. How far are the *ryots* becoming more aware of "the great world beyond their market town?"

9. *Poverty* among the *ryots*, how pre-disposing to disease? to cheating?

10. Would an *encumbered estate commission*, which has worked so well in Ireland, be suited for India?

11. Is there a strong desire for the possession of land among *ryots*, so as to lead to habits of prudence and economy?

12. Are there many remains of old *Jaghires* in Bengal?

* In the N. W. P. in 1852 10,000 Rupees were spent by Government in endowing public gardens. "The author of *Seir Mutakherim*" remarked last century "a garden, an orchard—being time out of mind as free to all the world all over India as is a well or a tank, nothing amazes and disgusts the Hindustanees more when they come to Calcutta than to find so many seats and gardens all shut up."

† I have met with a case near Baraset of an evening school attended solely by *ryots*. In England one per cent. of the rural population attend such schools. In France 12 per cent.

13. Is the minute *sub-division of land* according to Hindu law carried out much? what are its effects?
14. The proportion of *landholders* to the rest of the population?
15. To what extent do the ryots purchase things not *produced* in their own district?
16. Any cases of poor *ryots* who have risen to be zemindars or to a good social position?
17. Many *sub-tenures* amounting to ten? *
18. Do many of the rural population *emigrate to towns*? the effects on morals and competition?
19. To what extent are the *zemindars* of Bengal rotting in idleness? its causes and remedies?
20. Are the ryots as attached to their *native villages* as formerly?
21. Has the *naib* as much influence as formerly over the zemindar?
22. Are *zemindars* as *litigious* as formerly?
23. Are the peasantry of Bengal, though *unlettered*, not ignorant? Give examples, illustrations.
24. Signs of *agricultural improvement* within the last twenty years as contrasted with manufacturing improvement?
25. How far is there a growth of a feeling of *independence* among ryots? its causes?
26. Are *Middlemen* on the increase? the evils inflicted by them in rack-renting, &c. &c.

III.

ASTROLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT.

Human nature in India, as in Europe, wishes to pry into the future, whether the fingers, the chattering of crows, or the stars are to be guides; in India the feeling against witches even lately was as strong as in England two centuries ago, thus in Mhow between 1800 and 1823, 2,500 witches were put to death.*

1. *Charmers for snake bites*, their numbers, pay, and how far really successful? the influence of music over snakes?
2. Are reputed *Expellers of Bhuts or Devils* many, their influence?
3. Various kinds of *mantras* such as the *panch mantra*, &c. &c.?
4. *Witches*, their localities, emoluments, number, how detected, any put to death last century in Bengal, the various kinds of witchcraft?
5. Divination by the hand; its various kinds, books on, is the practice general?
6. *Auguries*, by what birds? how taken; what is the reliance placed on them now?
7. *Mesmerism* or *Jhârdn Mantra*, to what extent known to the *old Hindus*—how practised now and by whom?
8. *Sleight of hand* tricks, the number and emoluments of its professors—instances of common tricks practised in Bengal?
9. Belief in *Fairies, Apparitions*, illustrations of its extent and influence? much on the decline?
10. *Gypsies* or *Nathis*, their numbers, morals, way of making a living? is their influence great? language, religion; ceremonies at marriages, births, funerals.
11. Casting the *evil eye* and other *incantations*.

* See Asiatic Annual Register, 1801. Asiatic Journal 1823, on trials for witchcraft among Hindus.

12. *Treasure finders*,—*thief detectors*, their numbers, profits? Ditto of *Fortune tellers*, *astrologers*.

13. *Dreams*, various kinds of? who interpret them, their profits? analysis of vernacular books that treat of them?

14. *Omens*, *Charms*, and signs of futurity, various kinds in use?

IV.

BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS.

The beggar class are not unworthy of consideration—in England they are the subject of various books—who does not remember Burns's poem on the Jolly Beggars, or some of the exquisite traits about them in Goldsmith's and Crabbe's Poems?

1. The proportion of beggars from *choice* or from *necessity*, or on *religious* grounds?

2. The extent of beggars' beats?—more beggars in town or country? their profits—their amusements?

3. Are beggars much addicted to *thieving* or other crimes? Do many beggars feign *blindness*, *dumbness*, *lameness* or practise other impositions?

4. *Fakirs* or *Sanyasis*—their habits, beat, profits, impositions,—which are worse, Hindu or Musulman fakirs? why do they call themselves *Padris*?

5. Mendicant *musicians*—their number, profits, skill, social position? Ditto of vagrant tradesmen.

6. Is not the present indiscriminate *charity* to *beggars* the mother of idleness?

7. Where do beggars find shelter in the *rains*, in *illness*?

8. Are *Hindus* or Musulmans kinder to beggars?

9. Why do most of the mendicant orders choose *Ram* for their patron?

10. Do many beggars flock to towns—the causes—how far is the want of peasant proprietorship a cause of beggary?

V.

CALCUTTA.

Calcutta the "city of palaces and pigsties" requires a separate Sociological niche for itself,—yet how little is really known of this *colluvies* of nations! Purnea furnishes syces,—Orissa, bearers,—Behar, Durwans,—Central India, Opium merchants,—Kabul, horses and fruit-sellers,—Chittagong, boatmen;—while those semi-Asiatics, the Greeks, supply leading merchants.

In prosecuting enquiries on the various classes of population, the trades and handicrafts in Calcutta and in the large towns of Bengal, I would point out as a model a paper on that subject in relation to Bareilly, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions, 1826, Vol. I. pp. 467-484 showing the progress in civilization, and illustrating, in reference to dress, amusements, food and houses, the peculiar usages, habits and wants of the people.

1. The proportion of the *adult population* born in Calcutta? *
2. The grouping of the Calcutta population into classes inhabiting different localities according to *occupation, social grade, birth place* or *fellow countrymen*?
3. *Jews*,† their numbers, wealth and social position in Calcutta? what impression do they make on Hindus? their language, how far Indianised? ‡
4. *Parsis* in Calcutta, their numbers, social status—are their prejudices decaying—their *Panchayats*,—observance of New-Year's day, and of the birth day of Zoroaster,—ceremonies in honor of the dead.—Commercial enterprise,—charities,—language,—literature,—caste disputes; when did they first come to Calcutta; the condition of their females,—liturgies,—how far do they conform to Hindu practices?
5. *Armenians*,§ ditto, their decrease; any connection kept up with Armenia; their colloquial language?
6. Greeks ditto, how far do they adopt English habits and customs—their habits as contrasted with English merchants; any connection kept up with Russia or Greece?
7. *Mixed classes*, many such, as *Piralis* &c. &c.
8. *Young Bengal*; how far he really differs from his countrymen—how far is it mere varnish; are his peculiarities on the increase or decrease: are there many out of Calcutta? The period when young Bengalism arose?
9. *Chinese*|| in Calcutta; how far do they retain their country's mode of living? their morals, localities, numbers, language used, employments?
10. *Seiks*; are there many in Calcutta,—are many able to read the *Granth*; their occupation?
11. *Moguls* in Calcutta, their numbers; social position,—many directly of Persian or Tartar origin?
12. *Feringhees*, who so called, origin of the word?
13. *Musulmans* in Calcutta; are they very stationary or rising in social importance; their social morality as contrasted with that of the Hindus; are coffee shops common among them; ditto gambling; the number of Arabic, Persian schools among them,—their feelings towards Hindus? many Hajis or Sais among them? Do they read the *Kulna* on Friday in the mosques?
14. *East Indians*,¶ Not a fusion of the European and Asiatic as the English were of the Norman and Saxon—effect of intermarriage among themselves; are they dying out?
15. *Sanskrit Toles*. Are there more than 100: the highest emoluments in them as contrasted with former days?
16. *Jains*, their numbers and social position in Calcutta?
17. *Afghans* in Calcutta, their language, number,—do they assert their Jewish descent?
18. *Merchant princes* of Calcutta; is the name still applicable?
19. *Portuguese*; their number,** are they increasing;—their influence; the language used,—are any of pure origin: are their priests improving—the effect of their example on Hindus?
20. Accounts of the following *classes* their numbers, profits, social position,—bird sellers, glass-blowers, firework-makers, dyers, shell-workers, smiths, cattle doctors, yogis, weavers, divers, butchers, fowlers, bookbinders, druggists, bakers,

* Half the adult population of London is born in the Provinces.

† There were in Calcutta 307 Jews in 1837.

‡ Alexandrian Jews were hellenised.

§ 636 Armenians in Calcutta in 1837.

|| 362 in 1837.

¶ 4,746 in 1837.

** 3,181 in 1837.

gardeners, dhobis, confectioners, barbers, mehturs, shoemakers, carpenters, masons?

21. The origin of the names of the *Calcutta streets*, notices of the individuals, or of the circumstances or particular trades that gave them those names.

22. The various cries made in the streets by sellers?

23. Describe the social condition of the following classes, street sellers, street buyers, street finders, street performers, artists, showmen, street artisans or working pedlars, street laborers.

VI.

CEREMONIES, RITES.

1. *Shraddhas*, the ceremonies and expense connected with them now, as contrasted with former times, and in the various castes? Describe the various ceremonies as observed by different castes?

2. The chief *gram Devatas* in Bengal; the origin of their worship, the mode of conducting it. Are there more than 100?

3. Do *Hindus* or *Musulmans* expend more on their ceremonies?

4. The profits, numbers of those who *burn the dead*.*

5. Is the practice of *shaking hands* increasing much? Ditto of other English customs?

6. On *investiture of the Poita*, is it a practice to keep a piece of iron as a charm against *bhuts* (ghosts); is the party confined for 11 days?

7. Are *compulsory pujas* much practised, such as throwing an image at night at a rich man's door that he may be compelled to perform a *puja*?

8. Describe the worship of *Sitola*, *Nag Manasa*, *Ulauti Devi*; the *Shasti*, *Dheki*, *Govardan*, and *Ganesh Pujas*, the origin extent, expenses, by what classes conducted, the temples, festivals connected with?

9. *Agni Puja* and *Surja Puja*, to what extent celebrated in former times; with what pomp and expense?

10. The various prayers and gesticulations connected with the *ahnik*, how far observed, and by what classes now?

11. Parrots how trained to repeat *Radha Krishna*?

12. How far are the following practises now generally observed and by what classes? First morning prayer to the Guru? the *Gangāstak*; 24 *Mudrās*; *prandīyam*? *Gumukhi*, *Gaytrījap*, *Artipancha pradīp*, *Panchagni*, *Das sanskāra*,—marks of caste or sects in the forehead,—women worshipping the *dheki* to cure the scurvy and itch.

13. *Fasting*, how far observed now compared with former days; the *Ekadasi* how kept, and by whom?

14. *Funerals*, expense of; ceremonies at; period of mourning, in different castes; women accompany the corpse how far; four modes of disposing of a corpse. Ceremonies observed now compared with those of former days?

15. Are *lamps* often sent floating down a stream as an omen?

16. Are thorns often put under the feet of a woman who dies pregnant?

17. Is there much observance now of *Das Snān*, *Das Dān*?

18. Describe the ceremonies and among what classes is the worship of books, birds, stones, fish practised?

19. *Jogi's* suspension of breath, the postures, &c. &c. how far kept up now, and by what training?

20. In the *Holi festival*, are there less obscene words and figures than formerly? is a castor oil tree planted as a kind of maypole?

21. Is the *Navami* generally practised i. e. placing the first fruits of grain in harvest at the door?

* (*Rama Murda Farash* died twenty-five years ago worth five or six lacs which he gained by burning the dead at Nimtollah.)

22. *Chagadâ*, the reason of its being a city of refuge for outcasts, the numbers that resort to it? other similar places in Bengal.

23. Was burning a leper alive much practised formerly? Burying alive ditto?

24. *Human sacrifices* were formerly offered up at Kshir near Burdwan, at Yogadyea, at Kerilatta near Moorsshedabad, to Kali at Brahmanitola near Nadaya, to Manasa, at Chitpore, Kalighat,—any instances handed down by tradition?

25. How was the *charak* celebrated formerly? instances during it of the tongue being pierced with a bayonet—snake's tail put through?

26. *Birth ceremonies*; such as Jal karan or giving honey at first seeing a son: naming child 12 days after birth; bringing him out at 3 months' old; feeding him at 6 months' old, shaving the head at 3 years old—how far practised and by different castes?

27. In *marriages* are the *laganpatrika*, tying the garments of parties together, much used? how do marriage ceremonies differ according to caste, rank, &c.?

VII.

• CLASSES.

1. The *Upper classes*, though having good diet, food and clothes, have few children.

2. Causes tending to create a *middle class* in Bengal?

3. Any possibility of *approximating* the Hindus and *East Indians*, in closer mutual sympathy—was the aversion less in former days than now?

4. The *Portuguese* in Calcutta—how many of European origin, their peculiar customs and mode of life? their influence over natives? their morals and energy as contrasted with those of natives?

5. The use of a native *landed aristocracy* as a shield against the despotism of a ruler or of a multitude?

6. Are there many *black Brahmans*; are they of Hindu origin?

7. *Duration of life* among the upper and lower classes of Hindus, and the professional classes particularly, as showing the effect of temperance, mental occupation and bodily exercise?

8. Are old men very garrulous? are there many old men in Bengal?

9. Caste how far on the decline, its causes? are the *varna sankara* or mixed castes on the increase? illustrations of the lower castes rising in the social scale, the causes? are the rules for expulsion from caste strictly observed?

VIII.

COMMERCE.

The commercial classes in India have always occupied a conspicuous place, even in Menu's time they had the purse strings, and have been the least subject to priestly influence; hence the great sects of Jains in Rajputana and Central India, the Oswals of Behar, and Vaishnabs of Bengal have most converts among the traders, among whom are Marwari merchants and Ghosains. It was similarly the case in France among the Huguenots, and in the middle ages among the Belgians and Italians, while the municipalities were buffers in the middle ages against feudal oppression.

1. Why do *Bunias* in Behar rank with *Vaisyas*? their education and social position in Bengal—many of them sureties—many foreigners among them—profits?

2. *Mahajans*, how far their exactions extend—are they less now than formerly, their numbers, do many rise to a high position in native society?

3. The *native merchant princes* of Calcutta,—their rise and social influence.

4. To what extent has the *decay* in ancient Indian articles been compensated by new sources of trade?

5. Indigo,* the accounts of it in Hindu books, also of tobacco, sugar, cotton.

6. The influences of *foreign trade* on the dress, food, habits, opinions, of Bengalis?

7. How far are merchants likely to form a quasi *aristocracy*?

8. The effect of *commercial legislature* on commercial morality in this country as shown in the Small Cause and Insolvent Courts?

9. *Merchants*, how far liable to the charge of ostentation, avarice, vulgarity? how far do they rise into a higher grade, their conduct in it?

10. *Shroffs*, their number, emoluments, social position?

11. Causes of the decreasing social intercourse between European and natives—remedies.

IX.

CONVERSATION AND SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Conversation, or the “feast of reason and the flow of soul,” is popular with the Bengali even more than with the European.

1. The subjects of conversation 20 years ago as contrasted with the present.

2. The subjects of conversation common to the *educated and uneducated* classes.

3. *Jesters* how far employed, their numbers and emoluments—is jesting much used? illustrations of it?

4. Are *Riddles* much used?—a collection of them a desideratum.

5. The favorite *times* for conversation; how different from the English?

6. Do any classes converse on subjects not relating to their *daily life and occupations*.

7. *Vaishnabs’ or Saktas’* conversation—how they differ in subject and moral tone?

8. Is there much *discussion* in Hindoo society—on what topics? is it angry at times?

9. The effect on conversation of the absence of *Female society*?

10. Topics in the *zenana*, among educated, uneducated? among country or town people?

11. Among what classes are *Ghost stories* most common,—mention twelve specimens of the different kinds.

X.

CRIMINAL, OR DANGEROUS, CLASSES.

All honor to Howard, Mrs. Fry and others, who gave their time to this subject, and to the talent in India that has been enlisted on criminal statistics, but the feeling many

* In the *Pancha Tantra* a work 12 centuries old at least, we have an account of a jackal who tumbled into an Indigo vat.

have on entering a jail is—a large amount of public money and official skill has been employed very properly in jail administration ; but what is done to *prevent* prisoners entering jail? *—The rural population are consigned to 60,000 Guru Mahasays to teach them stealing and obscenity—is it surprising that they matriculate in the jail and receive their degree in the arts of thieving at the gallows or at Singapore—the rhyot out of jail feels that were he a criminal, he would have better food, lodging and clothes than he has as an honest man—hence the name he gives it, “our father-in-law’s house.”

1. How can a system of *education* be extended adapted to the circumstances of those who form the raw materials of the dangerous and criminal classes? the effect of teaching prisoners agriculture.

2. How far is *poverty* the parent of crime in Bengal? Do. *oppression*? Do. the *Guru Mahashay system*?

3. *Jails*, how far objects of terror and shame to natives? in what districts is the name “our father-in-law’s house” given to the jail? are re-committals frequent or no? Are *Reformatories* for juvenile criminals desirable?

4. Is the *thannah* looked upon as a school where old offenders teach young ones crime?

5. Receivers of *stolen goods*; any approximate estimate of their number and profits?

6. Has the *punishment of death* much effect in lessening capital offences?

7. The proportion that can *read and write* intelligibly in the different jails? †

8. Is *infanticide* common among the poor? ‡ Ditto *incest*.

9. Is perjury or forgery on the increase?

10. River Thagi common? Ditto professional *poisoners*? Ditto *Fortune*?

11. The influence of *age* and *sex* on crime?

12. Crime in different districts, and in various castes particularly as relates to Hindus and Muhammadans, how it differs in number, variety?

13. Is there more crime in *town* or in the country?

14. The *deaf and dumb*, many; how do they support themselves?

15. Juvenile delinquents; their number, offences?

16. Has the autobiography of a thief ever been written?

17. Is Wilson’s remark correct “In the great towns of India, the profligacy bears no comparison to that of London or Paris?”

XI.

DEBATING SOCIETIES.

Debating Societies or Literary Clubs have sprung up in shoals both in Calcutta and the Mofussil within the last twelve

* In the report of popular education in Liverpool, read by the Rev. J. Howson at the Social Science Conference, 1858, it is stated: “The system is working upwards, it has a tendency to aid in educating children, whose parents are really in the receipt of a very good income, while it leaves behind large numbers of those who are in the utmost poverty and great danger of falling into criminal habits.”

† In Liverpool it was ascertained lately that out of 19,336 persons apprehended in nine months, only 3 per cent. could read or write well enough for any available purpose.

‡ It is so in the manufacturing districts of England, and among the Rajpoots.

years; they are nuclei for educated young men, and are congenial to the oriental habit, which loves *dals*: we need a kind, however, like the Young Men's Associations of England, in which not only are lectures delivered or essays read, but night classes are formed for improvement in literature and science.

1. The number and duration of *Debating Societies* in Calcutta during the last twenty years, the subjects discussed and social status of the members.
2. Ditto ditto ditto in the Mofussil.
3. In what respects are they improving as to the *choice of subjects* and the mode of conducting the meetings?
4. What *social influence* do they exercise in the family or on others?
5. A history of the *Dharma Sabha*, its leaders, quarrels?
6. Of the *Brahma Sabha*, ditto ditto?
7. Account of any other meetings among Hindus?

XII.

DISEASES.

1. The social and moral causes of *insanity* among natives? Among what castes more cases?
2. Are *Albinos* numerous?
3. What nervous diseases are regarded as being from a *bhul*, requiring mantras?
4. *Nakra*—*Inoculation* for small pox—*Leprosy*, mode of treatment in ancient and modern times; how they differ? are lepers treated kindly?
5. *Hindu Physicians*, their remedies for *eye diseases*?
6. Are diseases from *dissipation* among Young Bengal on the increase?
7. What diseases indicate the *social condition* of a people, such as those of the eye, brain?
8. *Hospitals*, by what castes most attended. Brahmans, Khaistas, Musulmans—from what localities?
9. The relative *mortality and vitality* of each sex, and of the leading castes in Bengal.
10. Is the *duration of life* in inverse ratio to fecundity?
11. The influence of *employments* on health in Bengal, how shewn?
12. Various remedies for *snake bites*?
13. *Native medicines* in what estimation held by educated natives?
14. Is mortality in *parturition* on the increase?

XIII.

DOCTORS—A REMEDY FOR THE EVIL.

The *kabiraj* or indigenous doctor is so inwrought into the structure of native society and has been the cause of such an enormous number of legalised homicides that he is well deserving of consideration. The Bengali class of the Medical College is, as it gradually developes, lessening this evil; but still it is a fearful one. Dr. Wise has written ably on this class and on Hindu medicine.

1. *Kabirajes*: whether are Hindus or Musulman ones more numerous or more skilful—their castes, their pay now and in former days?

2. *Inoculators*, more Hindus or Musulmans—the incantations used—their invocations of Sitola—their fees—caste, mode of treatment.

3. *Vaidyas*, their chief localities in Bengal, the proportion that can read Sanskrit, their pay and social position—an account of the *Atai Vaidyas*, *Dehatu Vaidyas*, *Chasi Vaidyas*, *Haturya Vaidyas*.

4. *Midwives*, *Cuppers*, *Leech sellers*, their skill, pay, numbers.

5. English educated doctors, is their social position and pay increasing?

6. Ditto Bengali educated.

XIV.

DOMESTIC.

Home has well been styled the “seed vessel of society, where the next generation must germinate.”

1. Is *hospitality* as much practised now as formerly? and with as rigid a regard to caste?

2. The mutual influences of *home* on educated natives as respects wives and daughters?

3. The family tie very strong among Hindus—illustrate by examples.

XV.

DRAMAS, JATTRAS.

The Sanskrit Drama as translated by Dr. Wilson, presents a rich harvest of information as to the social condition of the Indian aristocracy, females and Pandits eighteen centuries ago. In the *Sarada tilaka* of the 12th century, we have sketches of the various classes of females, and of the Jogis, Buddhists, snake-catchers, Pandits; the *Mriganlekhá* treats of the kings of Kalinga and Assam—as the Ramayan does of society 2,500 years ago. Nor have the last ten years been barren in the department of dramatic Vernacular Literature—as the many Bengali dramas on the subjects of “Kulinism,” “Widow re-marriage,” &c. show.

1. Account of the *bhairs* or professional jesters.

2. A list of the various *jatras*, their authors, subjects, influence.

3. Ditto *Rásas*.

4. An analysis of the Vernacular dramas written the last twenty years.

XVI.

DRESS.

A suitable dress for females, decent, yet national, is a desideratum, some Hindu females have adopted the English dress, but they look exactly like Portuguese Ayahs, or the black dolls that hang in London over pawn-brokers' shops,—why should this be?—the *sári*, it is true, is not sufficient, but in Behar we find the petticoat (*lohangá*) and boddice (*kurta*) has been introduced from the west of India, and more than one-fourth of

the Behar women have adopted it, some of the Rajput women in Behar use long-drawers like the Musulman ladies.

The males are better off as to dress, but in their disuse of the turban, substituting for it a cap, they benefit only the eye doctors, as furnishing them with more patients, and spectacle makers, as the eyes having no shade like what the turban gives, become weak; such has been the case in Egypt, since the Turkish Fez has been introduced.

1. Is the *Musulman* dress superior in any points to the Hindu?
2. Was the *needle* totally unknown to the Hindus? is there any Hindu word to express sewing with it.*
3. Do any Hindus now object to garments made by a *Moslem needle*?
5. Were there any *tailors* in ancient times among the Hindus?
5. Do Hindu *females* wash their linen often—is *soap* coming into use among them?
6. Will a Hindu drink water out of a girl's hands, unless she is first *tattooed* on the arms and breast?
7. Would the wearing of *beards* be useful for Hindus?
8. Should Hindus take off their *shoes* in an European house, or their turbans on entering a place of worship?

XVII.

DRINKING HABITS.

In Menu's days liquors were allowed, and ancient Hindu history gives many a curious revelation on this point.

1. Are drinking habits more prevalent among the *Hindus* or among *Musulmans*? how 30 years ago compared with the present time?
2. Are Hindus quarrelsome in their cups?
3. Is smoking *Ganja*, *Charus*, or *Opium* more destructive;—which is more common? Do Hindu females *smoke* much? When was *smoking* introduced? Ditto *snuffing*.
4. How far is the increase of drinking owing to *domestic discomfort*?
5. How far do crimes, attended with violence, arise from *intoxication*, how far insanity?
6. The effect of *intemperance* in producing pauperism?
7. Connection between increased *abkari shops* and crime?
8. Is *drinking brandy* a frequent practice with Young Bengal?

XVIII.

EDUCATION, IN ITS SOCIAL BEARING.

The bearing of the School system in its social influence is an important subject, thus the competitive system which treats boys as race horses, trains them not for general use, but to run for particular prizes, promoting cramming, and mere book-knowledge; another serious evil is whether it will not lead to the neglect of the mass of the boys in a school, as the Masters,

* *Sui* properly means passing the shuttle in the act of weaving.

by attending to a few well, will draw more praise than by a regard to the merits of the mass.

There is a tendency like the man in the fable, who cried out nothing like leather, to regard education as the Panacea against all evils. Lord Brougham describes such persons as being like those who would trust to the effects of diet and regimen when the plague is raging. The masses are the basis of the social pyramid, without their being secure, the apex has no stability; brute force and the black cap are at best but temporary expedients. There is great truth in what Dr. Arnold remarked, "Education is wanted to improve the physical condition of the people: and yet *their physical condition must be improved, before they can be susceptible of education.*"

1. How far are improved *habits* of cleanliness, order, punctuality, truthfulness, an improved standard of dress and living, a development of character promoted by Anglo-Vernacular Schools?

2. Ditto by *Guru Mahashay* Schools?

3. The action of Anglo-Vernacular and *Guru Mahashay* Schools on the *family circle*?

4. Any social evils arising from the training adopted for native girls in Mission *female schools*? The remedy.

5. How far are the following remarks, made in England, applicable to this country?

"There is a practical standard in the minds of the people, beyond which the education of the masses cannot be carried. If Government raise the standard, people diminish the time of children's attendance."

6. The social importance of teaching in all schools, the doctrines of *political economy* on labour, capital, wages, interchange, money,—as also agricultural chemistry.

7. Mental ignorance, how far productive of *moral depravity*?*

8. How far do *social discomforts* fret and enfeeble the masses, and render them unfit for higher thoughts?

9. Is *intemperance* greater in proportion among the educated or uneducated classes?

10. How far is the following statement, made by an educated native, correct?

"Natives educated in the *Government Colleges*, do not often fulfil the hope inspired by their academic career, they do not follow up their studies, they unlearn what they have learnt, sink in the mass with all the enervating environments of Indian life—the hookah and the zenana did their sure work."

11. The social condition of the masses renders a *grant-in-aid system* as inapplicable, as would be a voluntary system at the time of plague and pestilence?

12. How far does school education mould the social institutions of the country and how far is it moulded by them?

13. The social importance of schools of *Industrial art*?

14. Ditto ditto Agricultural schools?

15. The *tolas* (or Sanskrit Colleges)—the social causes leading to their decline. Any improvement in the subjects taught, or the mode of teaching. What great teachers are there now?

* Dr. Mouat's returns show that out of 73,000 criminals in the Bengal and Behar jails last year, 93 per cent. are utterly ignorant of reading and writing.

16. The probable reflex influence of requiring a knowledge of *reading and writing* from all classes, as a qualification for office ?

17. The probable influence of the *university examinations* in giving a preponderance to cramming and memory work, and the neglect of the power of observation.

18. Is it desirable that up to 6 years of age *girls* should be taught with boys.*

19. How far are the *Guru Mahashays*, as a class, guilty of the charges of teaching their pupils theft, lying, and of inflicting severe punishments ? What has been the occupation of their fathers generally ?

20. A list of Vernacular authors and able teachers produced by the Calcutta Sanskrit Colleges ? Ditto by the Nudiya ?

XIX.

FEMALES.

1. How far are the following remarks on Hindu females correct in different localities " Ministers to the capricious sensuality of their arrogant lords, the feeling of *natural affection* is comparatively weak—held under the jealousy of restraint, become callous to all finer sensibilities ?" "*Cases of crim. con.* very seldom occur in respectable Hindu families." "The life of a Hindu *widow* is wretched in the highest degree."

2. To what extent can *natch girls* read ? their influence as compared with former days ?

3. Do Hindu females often hear religious or other *books read* to them ?†

4. Mention female *authors* of past and present times.

5. Is the practice of females blackening their teeth and eyes, of Moslem origin ?

6. Are the *angia*, *kurti*, *pyjama*s much in use ?

7. At what age are females considered old *women*—what is their influence and conduct then ?

8. Are Musulman females less luxurious and *extravagant* than Hindu ones ?

9. What are the *recreations* of females—Is kite flying such ?

10. Are Hindu and Musulman females fond of *embroidering* and of *flowers* ?

11. Are *quarrels* numerous among females, are they very *jealous* ?

12. Do females become really *old* at thirty ?

13. What is the knowledge females acquire *independent of books* ?

14. How far do females win and retain their *husband's affections* ?

15. What is the average time men remain *widowers* ?

16. How far practically is a system of austerity carried out with regard to *widows* ? what means of support have they generally ?

17. If a woman washes off *paint* from her forehead, is it considered a sign of her wishing her husband's death ?

18. What has been the working of the act for the remarriage of Hindu widows—what are the probabilities of its working the remarriage of *respectable* widows ?

* In Kabul the custom is for boys and girls from 5 to 12 years of age to attend the same school.

† In Kabul many of the females are better acquainted with religious books than the males.

XX.

FESTIVALS.

Festivals for religious or commemorative purposes have always exercised great influence on social life, whether we look to the national games and assemblages of ancient Greeks, to the middle ages in Europe or even to recent times in England and France. Who can forget Washington Irving's vivid picture of Christmas and merry England in the olden time? But among the Hindus they have been pre-eminently influential as being interwoven so closely into the religion of this country. All the mighty minds of India in former days saw what a great effect they produce on all classes: hence Vaishnabs and Saktas alike, though differing in other points widely, have agreed in patronising them.

1. The *classes of society* that do not attend festivals now, but did once—why have they discontinued?

2. The influence of festivals on the *family relation* particularly on women and children?

3. Any change and improvements in the mode of *conducting* festivals?

4. How far are festivals become more occasions of *trade or amusement* than formerly?

5. What festivals have become more *popular* than others; the causes?

6. How far is the observance of festivals on the *decline*?

7. Is there much *sale* of Bengali books or of European articles at festivals?

8. Are festivals good times for holding *religious discussions*, such as are practised by Missionaries?

9. The influence of festivals in bringing the male and female *sexes* more together.

10. The various customs, ceremonies, connected with the first day of *new year*?

11. How far festivals such as the *Holi* contribute to *idleness* and dissipation?

12. Any observance like April fool or the Maypole in the *Holi*?

13. Mention *Obsolete festivals*, and new ones, such as the *Jagadatri*?

14. *Barwari puja*, how far observed now, and by whom; its origin? Ditto the *Nag panchami* in Bengal.

15. An accurate description of the Hindu fasts and of the festivals? of their origin, the significance of their peculiar ceremonies, how observed by different castes?

16. Ditto of the Musulman.

17. *Sunday*, how spent by different classes of natives?

18. On *Makar Sankranti* *til* seeds eaten after dinner? the sun the only deity worshipped why?

19. Is *Holi* a kind of All fools' day?

20. Describe the following practices on *Gadi padva*, *nim* leaves chewed, *puja* paid to an Almanac—on the *Ram Nabami*, on a recitation of *Ramayana*? *Narajal Purnima*, cocoanuts thrown into the sea. On *Dewali* *puja* to books.

21. What festivals observed only by particular castes or by women only?

XXI.

FISHERMEN AND BOATMEN.

1. What *boats* in the river are not of a build of indigenous origin ?
2. The *castes* that almost exclusively furnish boatmen,—why chiefly from Chittagong or Furrirdpore ?
3. The *morals* of boatmen when separated from their families ?
4. In what respects are *boatmen* equal to sailors ?
5. The peculiarities of the boatmen's *language*; is it the same as the Musulman-Bengali; a collection of the songs they sing when rowing ?
6. Why few *Hindus* are boatmen ?
7. The number of *boatmen* in Calcutta, are they on the increase or decrease; the causes ?
8. English *sailors* how victimised on landing by natives in punch-houses and by crimps ?
9. The various classes of *fishermen*, their profits now and formerly ?

XXII.

FOOD.

The nature of food has much to do with bodily and mental vigour, although different nations in this point have their respective tastes; a Frenchman will eat a rat or a frog or a horse with a *gout*, that will make an Englishman almost vomit. The Englishman in like manner dislikes the oceans of ghi and quantities of high seasoning that enter into a Bengali's cuisine, while on the other hand the Bengali shudders at a calf being an object of mastication.

1. The different kinds of *curries*, their use, expense of preparation, and how far their high seasoning is conducive to health ?
2. How does the *diet of Hindus* save from certain diseases, but promote others ?
3. The effect of a *vegetable diet* on certain mental qualities such as courage ?
4. *Tea* drinking, how far is it becoming popular ?
5. Why is a *fish diet* confined to Bengal not used by up-country Brahmans ?
6. Is *adulteration* of food common; illustrations with its evils ?
7. Illustrate the following statement "the fare on which a Sonthal, a Cole and a Garrow will thrive is utterly unsuited to the Bengali, the Assamese, and the Mugh."

XXIII.

HOUSES.

The dwellings of the poor and working classes have occupied much of the attention of philanthropists in England, they ought to do so here, for, as to floors, walls, windows, they are closely connected with questions of health and decency.

1. How far are the present *native houses* built so as to conduce to indecency, vice, quarrels, drunkenness, filth, ventilation?*
2. Is the *boitakhana* of Hindu origin?†
3. How far is the use of *chairs* preferable to the *Asan*?
4. How can the following defects in tiled houses be remedied: exposure to wind and rain, cold in winter, hot in summer?
5. *Mud huts*, means to secure them against snake holes?
6. Is the building of *suburban houses* for workmen in large towns desirable?
7. Is the northern side of a house invariably the *Thakur khana*?

XXIV.

KERANIS.

The Kerani system is so much the child of the English trade and Government, that it demands special attention. One thing is clear, that as certain as English education has been limited as respects caste to Brahmans and Khaistas almost exclusively, so have the chief occupations of its alumni been those of keranis or copyists—an effectual way to turn an educated youth into a mere machine, and to render him simply an imitator or a *copyer*—as he is a *copyist*. Happily the introduction of iron copying machines will reduce in various cases the demand for machines of flesh. It is true in the N. W. P. from Katamandu to Mhow the Bengali is the Englishman's right hand—in what?—as a machine for copying, as a sort of looking glass to reflect his views without having any views of his own. I trust this taint on the Bengali may soon cease. A writer on Indian history remarks on the kerani in his work “The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand: there was no intervention of the brain. The intelligence of the well tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life.”

1. The total number of *keranis* employed in the different offices in Calcutta; the average amount of their salaries?
2. The occupation of *keranis' leisure hours*; how far does the business of their offices afford material for conversation in their leisure hours?
3. Do *keranis* keep up *reading habits*—if not, why?
4. Does not their knowledge of *English* acquired at School decline owing to the want of practice, just as an Englishman's knowledge of French would away from France?

* I allude here to an evil felt in England as highly demoralising, viz. a single sleeping room for parties of different sexes and relations. The Santals, semi-civilized though they be, are in this respect ahead of Bengalis; boys and girls arrived at the age of puberty, have to sleep separate, away from their parents in a particular part of the village.

† Buchanan Hamilton states Vol. II. p. 697, “Its name is Moslem and that a place of receiving company was introduced, when the example or command of these haughty conquerors rendered it necessary to secrete the women; this practice is not common in the south of India where the manners of the Hindus are less altered; the sofa made of wood, the carpets, and quilts seem to have been introduced by the Muhammadans.” See (*Kirāt Arjuna*).

5. How far do *keranis* read the new class of books in *Bengali literature*?
6. Are *keranis* chiefly of the *khaista* caste?
7. *Banians*, their past and present influence over Europeans, their profits?

XXV.

LANGUAGE.

1. What is the source of that part of the *Bengali language* which is not of Sanskrit origin? has it, like the languages of South India, an affinity with the Tartarian dialects spoken in Central Asia?*
2. The *dialects in Bengal* how far mere divergencies of pronunciation and spelling, similar to the English and Italian dialects—their extent and causes are they on the increase or decrease?
3. How far is *Urdu* declining in Bengal, as a colloquial and written language—the causes?
4. What influence is likely to be produced on the *Bengali language* by increased intercourse with Central India and the North West?
5. What language is likely to supplant the *Santal*, is it the Bengali, Hindi or Urdu? Ditto as regards the Asamese?
6. What effect on the structure of Bengali is likely to be produced by *English* educated natives?
7. What *idioms* in Bengali are most striking in contrast with those of the English and Urdu languages?
8. The language used at *Gour*, had it a closer affinity to Hindî than to Bengali?
9. What old *Bengali MSS.* exist among private families?†
10. Is the *Musulman-Bengali* used chiefly by persons who cannot read or write the Bengali, increasing as a dialect?
11. The influence of *Persian* in Bengal past and present?
12. The *boundaries* of the Bengali language in the Midnapur district bordering on Uriya and in the Birbhûm on Hindi.
13. The Bengali language as in its progress illustrating the varying features of *national character*, habits, pursuits, social and mental development.‡
14. Are the educated Bengalis so different from Italians, Poles or Hungarians,—as to have no *patriotic feeling* in favour of their language?
15. Words in Bengali having affinities with any Tartar or *Aboriginal* language?
16. Illustrations of the language of *Flowers* as used by Musulmans and Hindus?
17. A list of those *Bengali words* not derived from Sanskrit or Persian—their probable origin?
18. Names of places, persons or things in Bengali throwing any light on the origin and affinities of the *Bengali race*?
19. *Cant* language used by particular classes, as the Thugs did in the Agra Presidency.

* Caldwell's Dravidian grammar affords many valuable hints.

† Research in other quarters ought to encourage it here, thus we find that the Pushtu until lately considered a colloquial dialect had MS. as early as 1417, A. D., as Captain Raverty shows.

‡ Language has well been called a map of the manners and science of the people who speak it, thus the term for a widow *Vidhava* showed that all widows were not burnt, so *pati*, a lord, the term for husband.

XXVI.

LAW AND SOCIAL STATE.

The laws of a people have a very important bearing on their social development; hence jurisprudence has well been defined, "the law of humanity in society." The subject of jurisprudence from its bearings on Sociology was taken up at the Liverpool meeting of the Social Science Association.

1. How far is the new *Penal Code*, as contrasted with the Regulations, likely to affect the social condition of the people and mould their character; and how far is the social condition of the people likely to modify the working of this Code?

2. How far has the *Punchayat* system tended to raise the character of the people—would the English Jury system be more efficient in this respect?

3. The *Income Tax*, its probable bearings on the physical, social, and moral condition of the people?

4. Menu's laws how far ditto.

5. The probable effect of making *English* the language of the Court in increasing the social gulph between the English Judge and the masses? and in leaving the judge and the people at the mercy of the interpreter?

7. The effect on society of the Hindu law of *intestate property*.

8. Which is more favorable to the creation of a middle class and the elevation of the masses, a zemindary, a village or a ryotwary system?

9. How would a law of *primogeniture* act in this country?

10. Ditto a law like the French law of equal *sub-division*?

11. In what respects is the social condition of the people different now from what it was in the *Vedic* time—in Menu's—in Ram's time—in Kalidas's time—in the Musulman time?

12. How far has law in India been the offspring, how far the parent of *public opinion*?

13. The working of the *Small Cause Court* of Calcutta as effects its checking or increasing a love for litigation and promoting a regard to truth in dealings?

14. How far have native Educational *endowments* made the Pandits indolent by making them independent of their Scholars?

15. The value of village *Municipal institutions* in preparing a people for self-government?

16. The importance of *lawyers in India* having a training not only in law books, but also in the social condition of the people?

XXVII.

MARRIAGES.

1. Illustrations of the effects of *early marriage* physically, mentally, socially?

2. The causes and consequences of the *expense* of marriage ceremonies?

3. How far do *marriage ceremonies* vary according to caste, social position, &c.

4. What practices in the *marriage ceremonies* as to length, expense, rites, ought to be discountenanced, what to be continued?

5. Does *early marriage* in India tend to check vice?

6. Is there a marriage in practice among the Hindus corresponding to the *Muhammadan nikka*?

7. How far do marriages take place at a later period among *educated natives*—the effects?

8. Are *Ghataks* many, their fees,—any ghatak registries extant from Bulal Sen's time or three centuries ago?

9. The *expense* of marriage among the various castes or classes; are they on the increase or the decrease?

XXVIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. The different modes of *calculating time* used in Bengal, such as by sand, water, the sun, the stars?

2. Is the *Punchayat* much practised now? was it ever in Bengal as much a part of the village system as in Central India?

3. The practicability and advantage of *Mofussil savings and loan Banks* for the middle classes in the Mofussil, to promote provident habits and to rescue them from the Mahajans?*

4. Is the *cycle theory* for nations of weakness, vigour, maturity, decay, inapplicable to India?

5. The *emigration* to the Mauritius and W. Indies in its effects on the social condition of the emigrants and their families; on the parties themselves on their return—are many remittances from emigrants made to their families?

6. To what type of the *European character* are the Bengalis likely to approximate—to the English or German, French or Italian?

7. Are not merely *English institutions* as little adapted for India as they would be to France?

8. *Oriental writing letters*, their various ornaments, superscriptions and envelopes?

9. Have cases been known in modern times of the punishment being enforced to cut off a Hindu's *tika* (top knot), put lime on one side of his face and ink on the other side, and lead him about on an ass?

10. *Names*, any change desirable in *Hindu names*; the various modes of giving them? are all expressive? are they ever *changed*? how many *names* are there of men and of women?

11. *Salutations*, any change in the form of, in operation?

12. Are *large towns* in Bengal more favourable to morals than the country?

13. *Bazars*, their profits to the proprietors, changes in them within the last 20 years.

14. Are many new *Hindu temples* being built, where and at what cost?

15. *Spitting*, why practised so much by Hindus?

16. The history of the rise of the *old families* in Calcutta.†

17. What are the subjects of the Bengali *national pride*?

18. Various forms of *oaths* among different castes; which are considered specially binding?

19. Are dwarfs numerous?

20. *Bankrupts* were formerly compelled to sit bare-headed before a blazing lamp, how long since was that practised?

* In Birmingham in 1856, 84,000 accounts were opened for one penny and upwards; £4,500 being paid in. Through Dr. Chalmers' influence penny banks were established: fifty years ago. Dr. Duncan established in Scotland Savings Banks for deposits of a shilling and upwards, and thirty-two millions sterling have been deposited by 1,340,000 contributors.

† When I was in England 14 years ago, the late Professor Wilson directed my attention to this subject as one of great interest; but only a native can write on it.

21. Why do Hindus *count* by 4? does it relate to time, such as 4 weeks, 12 hours?

22. To what extent is the *rise of prices* leading, among ryots and the working classes, to independence of feeling and action, to a desire for education and to increased domestic comfort?

23. Is *dusturi* in vogue in the same proportion among natives as among Europeans—was it in vogue in the Mogul time and at different rates according to occupation?

24. *Fixed prices* for articles, is it in any department of Hindu trade?

25. Is there much *competition* among Hindus? Is the cheap and nasty system much practised?

26. Does population increase more in *town* or in the country?

27. *Longevity*, how it varies in different districts—in *various employments*?

28. Have variety of *soils* in Bengal any influence on the character of the people, thus low and marshy coasts are said to give a sordid, degraded class?

29. How far is there real *tenderness to animals* in Bengal? Any place of refuge for lost or starving ones, or old ones?

30. Is *suicide* common in Bengal, among what classes, the kind, causes; is it on the increase?

31. Different kinds of ordeal now among the Hindus: the balance, fire, water, poison, chewing rice, boiling oil, red hot iron?*

32. Twelve instances of English misunderstanding of native practices, ditto of natives mistaking English.

33. When did the fashion begin of calling the natives *niggers*?

34. Refute the statement that natives have neither a word for gratitude in their language nor a sense of it towards Europeans.

35. The advisability of introducing fountains and Turkish baths?

XXIX.

MUSULMANS.

Nor should this class of men who live *among* the Hindus, but are not *of* them be overlooked—the Musulmans now even in Europe are objects of much interest to various nations, and in Europe in the middle ages they left undying memorials of their knowledge and progress in the arts and social life. The Musulmans in *Bengal* read Bengali.

1. In what localities are these Musulmans in Bengal of *Patan* or *Mogul* descent? in what districts have Hindus become proselytes to Muhammadanism—how far by conviction, how far by compulsion or from other causes?

2. To what extent do the Musulmans differ in their social life, hospitality, kindness to the poor, amusements, *manners and customs*, from the Hindus? do they practise polygamy or sensuality to a greater extent?

3. The number, education, emoluments and influence of *Kajis* and *Mulas* in various localities?

4. To what extent have the *Musulmans* in Bengal and *Bengalis* mutually adopted each other's religious and social practices?†

* The trial by ordeal has been handed down in India from ancient times; it was prevalent in Europe in the middle ages.—See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I.

† In Purnea, Hindus contribute to the expense of the Mohurram; while caste has throughout Bengal obtained a complete ascendancy over the Moslems.

5. How far has the residence and influence of Musulmans affected Hindu *superstitions*, as also indecent and cruel practices?
6. Is not the following Hindu practice of Musulman origin—writing with the *pen* instead of the style? give other instances.
7. How far has the strictness of Hindu caste and the easy terms on which Musulmans received converts, contributed to *Moslem proselytism*?
8. Is Muhammadanism on the increase; how has it gained so many converts from the *ryot* class?
9. Are the following *sects of Fakirs* in lower Bengal, Benawas, Takyah-dars, Jalalis, Madari?
10. Murids—many? their conduct?
11. Ditto Hajis or *pilgrims*; many go to *Mecca* from Bengal? by what route? do women often proceed? the effect on them when they return?
12. What line of *trade*, profession or art, are Musulmans taking to?
13. What are the descendants of the Moslem *gentry* doing; do they apply to trade or to Government employ; their influence?
14. The number and endowments of *Pirsthans*; *Durgahs*, many offerings made.
15. How far is *Sufeyism* spreading, and among what classes? secret meetings among them: much ascetism,—their text books—has the *Vedantio* system influenced it?
16. How far are the *Ferazis* an offshoot of the Wahabees, are they spreading beyond Furriridpore, are their influence and numbers on the increase?
17. Is the *Ramzan* observed as strictly now as formerly; if not, in what particulars?
18. Do the *Ferazis* practice widow re-marriage; what Musulman ceremonies do they reject—is any connection kept up by them with Arabia?
19. The difference between Hindu and Musulman *funerals*, birth days, marriages, as to the number of ceremonies, expense?
20. How far was the persecution, by *Musulmans* in former days of Hindus in conferring office and landed property on converts only—as regards evidence in Courts—bringing children up for proselytism?
21. Are *Saids* numerous in Bengal; what estimation are they held in?
22. Musulman *burial grounds*, describe the various monuments erected, the state in which they are kept?
23. Is the *marriage ceremony* of sitting in state—carrying and applying turmeric—measuring for wedding garments kept up?
24. *Kodali marna* at the Mohurram, *Kadami rasal*; *Mui Mobarak* where exhibited?
25. Is the singing by *Dervishes* much practised?
26. Any practical checks to frequent *divorce*?
27. *Circumcision*, the ceremonies and expense attending it in different classes?
28. Musket fired at *birth* of a male child?
29. Hindus or Musulmans, which greater believers in witches, ghosts?
30. The numbers, profits and social position of the Arab seamen and Moguls who come to Calcutta for trade?
31. *Anecdotes* or MSS. illustrating the past, present social condition of the Musulman in Calcutta, Dacca, Hughly, Murshedabad, Pandua?
32. Drinking habits on the increase.
33. Are women more secluded among Musulmans or Hindus?
34. Is the attachment of the Musulmans to their religion declining in proportion to the political decay of the Moslem circulation and profits of, by whom used?
35. Is the hatred between *Shiahs* and Sunnees lessening?

36. Musulman ceremonies at birth, circumcision, puberty, betrothal, marriages, funerals, exorcism, a description as practised now by different classes and formerly ?

37. Is the strict regard to omens in travelling as great now as formerly ?

XXX.

THE NATIVE PRESS.

This power, though young at present, is gradually rising to a giant's strength ; and even Young Bengal is coming round to acknowledge it to be a power, if not for himself, at least for his wife and daughters, who, not requiring to be copyists, do not need to work up a certain amount of China Bazar English. The publication of half a million copies of Bengali works in Calcutta annually for sale, cannot be without its effect, but what is very desirable to procure is, manuscript literature, such as ballads, family traditions. Of what value, in an historical point of view are the ballads of Chand to the Rajputs ?

1. The circulation and profits of the following works : *Almanacs*, *Panchalis* or popular songs, tales.

2. Past and present *patrons* of native literature ?

3. The use of *Vernacular Libraries* in making known new publications and creating a taste for reading ?

4. A list of the various *libraries* for natives established in the Mofussil, their origin, success or failure and the causes : the classes using them, the kind of books most popular ?

5. A sketch of the history of native *editors*, past and present, of the former Editors of the *Bhaskar*, *Chandrika*, *Purna Chandroday*, *Prabhakar newspapers* ?

6. The native press, how far an index of the *social*, moral and intellectual condition of the people ? what light does it throw on it ?

7. The recent *copyright* law, in its action on native authorship ?

8. *Ballads*, are there many ? any very old ? how far illustrative of customs, history, morals ?*

9. The *book trade*, its profits, mode of selling, canvassing, advertising ?

10. *Pictures* of the gods and goddesses ?†

11. *Female book hawkers*, the number, what books do they sell ?

12. The working of the Act against *obscene publications* ?

13. The practicability of procuring a volume of *Anecdotes of Bengali social life* as drawn from their literature ?

14. It has been affirmed that last century the Bengalis had no *moral books*, how far was that true ?

* Ballad literature is not to be despised as an index of a popular mind, as Sir W. Scott has shown with regard to the Scotch, and Bp. Percy with respect to the English ballads. A Queen of Denmark, ten centuries ago, had the Danish Ballads published, they have been lately translated into English ; and are chiefly written by women ; treating of history, legends. The Guzerat Vernacular Society in its reports for 1849, states that one of its great objects was the collecting and copying ancient MS. ballads and tales.

† It is calculated there may be two hundred shops for the sale of these ; the Pawa caste were the chief purveyors, now Brahmans, and Khaistas come.

XXXI.

PANDITS.

Pandits once occupied more important positions in social life than they do now. Many anecdotes are still afloat of the wonderful acquisition in Sanskrit lore made by the Tarkalankars and others of former days, of the lengthened period of their grammatical studies, and their profound acquaintance with the Nyaya shastra. I have spent much time among pandits both in Calcutta and the Mofussil; and every where I have found their influence and emoluments on the decay; the endowments they formerly had, have been in many cases alienated, these enabled them to maintain pupils, according to the Hindu rule that the master is to support the scholar. English education also has called for a more practical and paying knowledge than Sanskrit, though the latter is of the utmost value for philological and antiquarian purposes.

Raja Krishna Chundra Roy of Nuddea was the Mæcenas of Pandits last century and bestowed on them an immense amount of land. *Adams* in his reports on education has given us much information on the position of Pandits in 1835 so has Buchanan Hamilton with regard to those of Behar. Though pandit learning is on the wane, still it is to be wished that Sanskrit studies were placed in this country on a proper basis—as a key to the North Indian Vernaculars—as a capital training in Philology, and as a means of throwing a flood of light on the origin of nations—how striking the fact that the highlanders of Scotland and the Brahmans of Benares use radically the same language!

1. *Pandits*—illustrations of their abstruse studies, deep knowledge as well as extensive reading on subjects now little studied?

2. The emoluments, fees, and endowments of *tols*, and their influence over the pupils in various localities?

3. The various causes that have led to the *decline* of the emoluments, influence and studies of Pandits?

4. Are or were *Mithila brahmans* numerous and influential in Bengal?

5. Whether do Pandits or Purohits or Gurus gain more emoluments, or have greater influence?

XXXII.

PROVERBS.

Bengali Proverbs present a rich field in illustrating the social condition of the people, many suggestions on this subject may be found in Trench's admirable work on the Proverbs.

1. The *origin* of Bengali Proverbs, how many are modern, how many from the Sanskrit ?
2. The *extent* to which they are used, which are local ?
3. Their contrast and similarity with Hindi and Urdu ?
4. Their resemblance to European Proverbs ?
5. Proverbs illustrating moral feeling, the social condition of the people.

XXXIII.

READERS.

In oriental countries where the masses cannot read, it is very common for the people to assemble to hear one read a book to them, and explain its more difficult passages. Every reader of the *Arabian Nights*, is acquainted with this. Among the Bengali there are *Kathaks*.

1. The *Kathaks* ; their number, mode of being trained, emoluments and chief localities ; are they on the increase or decrease ?
2. How far could the system be adopted of employing men like *Kathaks* to read interesting works ?
3. Vernacular *lectures* on popular subjects illustrated with diagrams, pictures, the desirableness and practicability of having them ?

XXXIV.

RECREATION—MUSIC.

Music, since the days of Orpheus, as well as before, has exercised a mighty spell on the popular mind, we know the famous saying, "Give me the making the ballads of a nation, and I will give you the making its laws." Sir W. Jones has written well on Hindu music, and has vindicated its claims very justly, though Europeans and Asiatics will never agree on this point.

There is a Bengali work on this ; but I have met very few pandits that could explain it.

1. The *popular songs* in use, their description, number and influence ?
2. An account of the most popular *ballad writers* ?
3. Any *English music* likely to be popular in this country ?
4. Any men corresponding with the *Bhats* of Rajputana or the wandering minstrels of Europe in the middle ages ?*
5. The numbers, profits of *musicians* who play for hire, their different classes ?
6. Are *athletic exercises* as much practised now as formerly ?
7. How far do Bengalis *sleep* more than Englishmen ?†

* In Behar zillah those *Bhats* rank next to the military tribes, amount to 380 families, most of which have endowments in land.

† I mention this, as the Bengalis sit up late.

8. What *English games* or athletic exercises might be naturalised in Bengal?
9. The advantage of having a *half holiday* on Saturday?
10. *Field sports* as fowling, fishing, riding, pigeon fancying, kite flying, how far practised?
11. *Gambling*, various kinds of, numbers of gamblers in Calcutta, gains; gambling houses?
12. The mode of spending the *evenings* among educated natives? much *discussion* on politics or religion?
13. Are *feats of skill*, as balancing a row of water-pots on the head, dancing on poles, balancing, tumbling, rope-dancing, sleight of hand, common?
14. Native *musical instruments*, the various ones, by what classes used? the ones most popular?
15. *Analysis of Bengali books* on music?
16. *Cock fighting*, bulbul fighting, ram fighting, how far practised?
17. The Hindu notation of music, any music on *European notation*; any counterpoint, describe the various *rāgas*; any harp?
18. *Listening to tales* and riddles of an evening, how far practised?
19. Various modes of *swimming* practised, can any women swim?

XXXV.

SECTS.

Without questions of sociology trenching on theology, there is a wide field in considering the social influence of the various sects of Hindus. Professor Wilson has almost exhausted the theological part of the question in his elaborate work the "Sects of the Hindus," but there is much to fill up in the social part.

1. How far are the *Vaishnabs* ahead of other sects as to elevating the people or women, or in proselyting? have they made any proselytes among Muhammadans; their ceremonies for the initiation of converts?
2. The extent of the *Guru's* power and emoluments now? do they travel far, the greatest number of disciples any have: their visits, instruction, morals, the various kinds of Upadesh they whisper into the ear?
3. The duties, influence and punishments of the *Dalpati*?
4. Is this remark of Wilson correct? "In Bengal the *Lingum* worship has no hold on the people's affections, it is not interwoven with their amusements, nor must it be imagined that it offers any stimulus to impure passions." Lecture I. 22.
5. The *Saktas*, their mystical diagrams, rites and gesticulations?
6. *Lingamites*, are their priests Jangams, are any Sudras?
7. Was *Sati* practised more among Saktas or Vaishnabs?
8. Who practised the worship of Ola Bibi (the goddess of cholera), when did it begin and in what districts is it observed? Ditto ditto of Shitola, of the Karta Bhojas, of Dakin Ray, of Gazi?
9. What sects originating in the Upper Provinces have followers in Bengal, and what Bengali sects have followers in the Upper Provinces?
10. Is the Tantric system spreading, its social influence?
11. The three leading divisions of Hindu *monks*? how far do they observe caste?

XXXVI.

SERVANTS.

1. Do natives keep the same *number of servants* as Europeans in a corresponding rank of life—how do their pay, treatment, work, differ in the service of Europeans, East Indians, Hindus and Musulmans?

2. The state of *slaves* in former days; their price and treatment?*

3. The causes that *servants in Calcutta* are said to be inferior to what they used to be—is it that those who govern ill are served ill?

4. How far is the practice of exchanging *certificates* of character carried?

5. *Chubdars*, their numbers and pay in former days? when have their numbers become less?

6. Anecdotes, illustrative of the number, treatment and cost of *slaves* in Bengal in former times.

7. How far are the rules of *caste* among servants really such, how far are they an invention for their own ease and profit? (In Madras, the land of real caste, one servant does the work of many.)

8. *Ayaks*, their castes, emoluments, morals?

9. The moral and social effect of so many servants being separated from their wives and families? is it like the Scotch booth system?

XXXVII.

TRAVELLING.

Though pilgrimages may have conduced to encourage the Hindus, to a love of adventure and to season them to hardship yet there is among Bengalis a strong clinging to their native place and their *bhāilok*, and yet Bengalis are found, like Jews, every where in India, but with better effect now than what Hamilton records “of the Calcutta Babus sent to Dinagapore, which is invaded by strangers from Calcutta, most of them rapacious as kites, and eager to accumulate fortunes, in order to be able to retire to their native country.” We trust that one of the effects of the railroad will be to lead a different kind of Bengalis to visit Behar, viz., the educated native who wishes to see the remains of the former greatness of his country, as seen in the Buddhist ruins of Behar, the Hindu monuments of Benares, the Moslem grandeur of Agra and Delhi, the beauteous scenery in the valley of the Soane and the Jain buildings of Rajputana, with the wide Champaign of Rewa—we hope this Indian *grand tour* may be considered necessary to crown a book education.†

1. Do the Bengalis travel more than *Behar* men? is their love to it on the increase?

2. Do *pilgrimages in Bengal* contribute more to a travelling spirit than in the Agra Presidency?

* Slavery was once very prevalent in Bengal, and especially in Behar; the Musulmans there are forbidden by their religion to purchase a freeman, they in order to give a sop to their conscience, call it taking a lease of a man for ninety years.

† From Katamandu to Indore, the Bengali Babu is the copying machine in offices; in Benares alone there are about 7000 Bengalis settled.

3. Is much *correspondence* kept up between Bengalis located in the Agra Presidency and their friends in Bengal?
4. How far is the desire of letter writing and *cheap postage* leading in the lower classes to a desire for writing, reading?
5. Different kinds of *lodging houses* for travellers, their various prices—accommodation—are they over crowded together in one room—do scenes of vice or robbery often occur?
6. *Railways*, their effects on third class travellers, in lessening caste prejudices—enlarging the powers of observation—promoting family comfort—how far are women availing themselves of them?
7. *News*, various native modes of procuring?
8. *Planting trees* by road sides, how far practised in ancient and modern times, in Bengal?
9. The causes leading to natives emigrating to the Mauritius and other parts?

XXXVIII.

VEHICLES.

This should not be below our notice. In London there is a Society for improving the condition of cabmen—while the Bishop of London has not thought it beneath him to preach in the open air to this class.

1. The various changes in shape the *palankeen* has undergone.*
2. How far is it feasible to introduce into lower Bengal the use of the *ekka*, which is both cheap and expeditious?
3. *Palki bearers*, in Calcutta—their numbers, mode of life, localities, whence they come,—many from Behar, character, profits? *Ghari wallas* do. do.†
4. *Syces* in Calcutta do. do.—were not syces formerly more swift of foot.‡
5. The origin of the shape of the present *kiranchis*. Is it taken from old English coaches?

XXXIX.

WORKING CLASSES.

In England, much interest has been taken in the working classes, as the great pillars of the social system.

My own experience leads me to the conviction, that in the *present* state of things, the working classes afford a fine field for education and social improvement, as their improved social condition, particularly in the rise of wages and wants, leads them to a stronger desire for education and its accompaniments; to them a knowledge of reading and writing and arithmetic is rendered by their daily occupations a matter of necessity.

* Last century they were arched.

† In Berlin, the cab drivers, while waiting for a fare, are to be often seen reading.

‡ The author of *Seir Mutakherim* writes they make nothing of following and preceding Englishmen on a full gallop, common servants have been seen who would run down a hare.

ty; except a little colloquial English in some cases, what these men need is not a smattering of book English, but a sound vernacular education, which will embrace the elements of mathematics and manufacturing skill, on the plan of the commercial schools in England, from which a smattering of Latin has been excluded. So it was found in the Agra Presidency when Mr. Thomason formed his scheme of vernacular education, so it will be found here as in England. How many eminent men have risen from this class, such as Stephenson, Hugh Muller: an encouragement to others; as in the French army, every soldier is said to carry the baton of field marshal in his knapsack. In Jehanabad a century ago a Musulman tailor founded a sect composed of Musulmans and Hindus, who respect the Koran and Shastras, this tailor composed 18 sacred books in Hindi, and his followers now amount to 20,000. *Kabir*, sprung from a weaver family, was the founder of one of the greatest sects in north India, while among the village gods worshipped in Behar are those who were boatmen, domes, oilmen. Drew, the great metaphysician, studied the sciences while cobbling—Dr. Carey was a cobbler. Many of the weavers of England have been great readers and even mathematicians, Chandra Gupta's maternal grandfather was a barber.

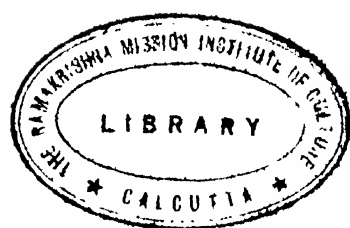
The London Working Men's College established in 1854, has 270 students in Mathematics, Drawing, French, Natural History. There are other Colleges in Manchester, Halifax. Carpenters, shoe-makers, weavers, tailors, porters belong to them. When will Bengal have hers?—the working men now can scarcely read. When is India to have the literature of labour—like that of Burns the bard and ploughman—Clare the peasant poet—Hogg the shepherd poet—Cooper the shoemaker poet—Miller the stone mason geologist? Hood's literature of labour, and the achievements of mind among the cottages, or "mind among the spindles" suggest many reflections on this.

1. *Weavers*, their numbers, profits, social position, localities, do many read; have many risen in the world?
2. *Tailors*, are all Musulmans?
3. *Shoemakers*, do any become rich, is the prejudice against them declining?
4. *Potters*, why inferior to those of former days?
5. *Dyers*, different kinds and nature of dyes?
6. *Masons and Stone cutters*, are they chiefly immigrants?
7. *Smiths*, the profits and social position of various classes, as copper-smith, tinsmith, blacksmith, goldsmith.
8. *Confectioners*, any poisonous matter, as in England, used in their coloring?
9. *Bookbinders*, any Hindus, if not, why?
10. *Shopkeepers*, why such readers among them, what class in society do they come from?

11. *Idol makers*, their localities, profits?
12. *Firework makers*. Do.
13. *Pansaries*, or *Grocers*. Do.
14. Instances of Revolutions in trade in this country from change of employment like that in Europe among weavers, manuscript copiers, coach proprietors?
15. Instances among the working classes of men who have risen to wealth or social distinction, or who have educated their sons well?
16. Is the *Shilpa Shastra* in use among any priests?*
17. Do any of the *working classes* meet for combination to keep up wages, as ryots have with respect to Indigo?
18. The *middleman system*, its evils?
19. *Strikes*, among what classes, and why?

Among the most thriving trades, is that of keepers of tatties, who profit as much by this dirty work as English undertakers do by their other division of it. I have heard of some of those men near Dharrumtollah bazar who earn between two and three hundred rupees monthly. In the Congress General of Hygiene in France, 1852, one resolution passed was, "That the instruction of the young in the labouring classes ought to comprise all which relates to the cleanliness of their person and of their dwellings, to the benefits resulting from good ventilation and the evils arising from humidity." There is on the Continent the Association International de Bienfaisance, whose main objects are to bring into relationship all interested in the condition of the working classes, reformatory institutions and popular education.

* It is so among certain stone masons in Behar zillah.



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